32
August 1988

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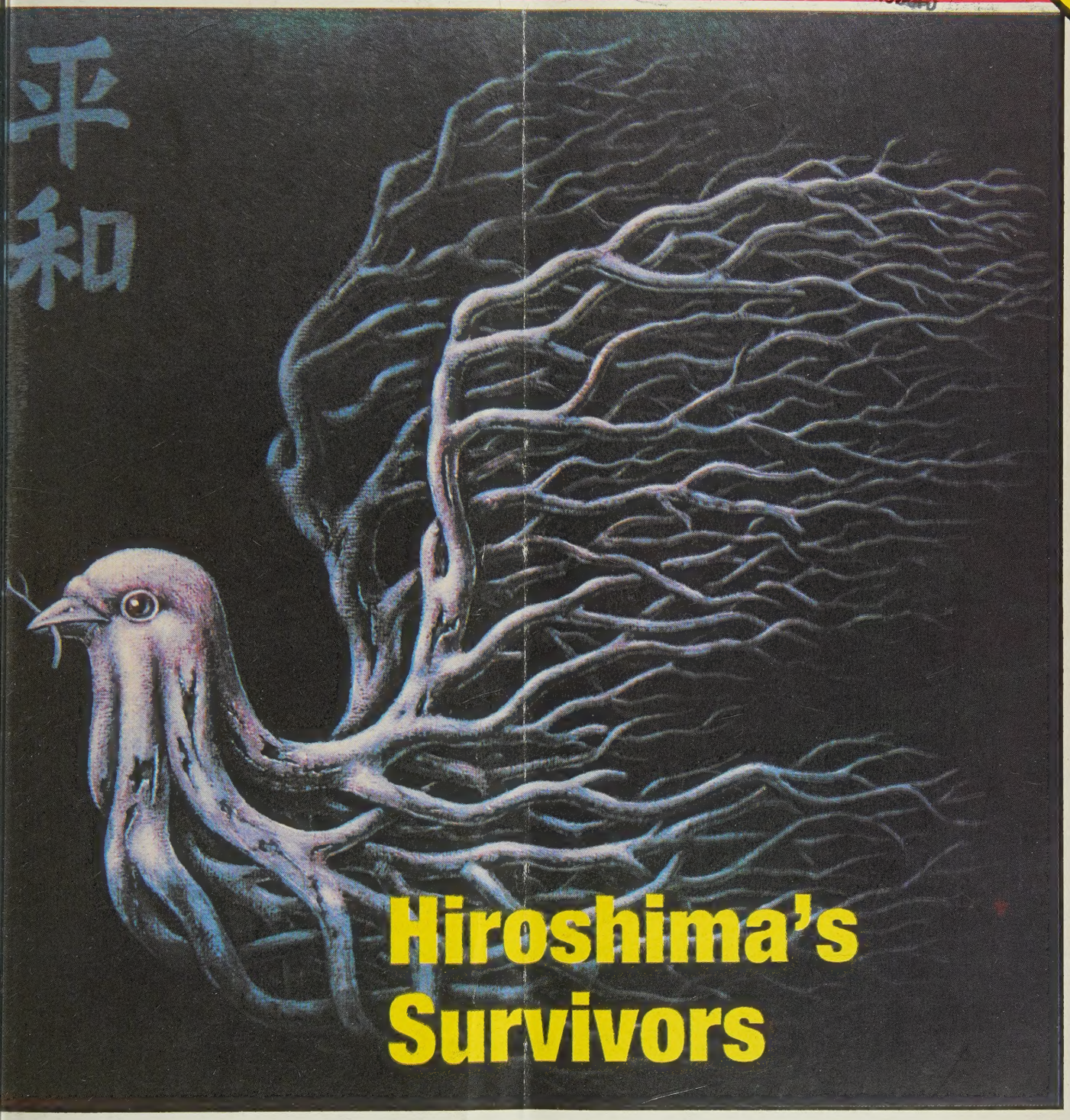

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NEW TIMES

No. 32, August 1988

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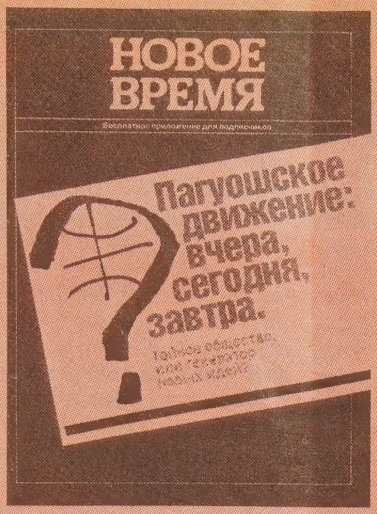

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Please find enclosed with one of the early issues a free supplement containing a selection of articles under the general title "The Pugwash movement: yesterday, today, tomorrow. Secret society or generator of new ideas?" The second free supplement is coming at the end of the year.

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OPINIONS

Vladimir Kuzemko,
worker,
Dnepropetrovsk, U.S.S.R.

■ The 19th Party Conference has brought the party and our people a wealth of valuable new thoughts and ideas. I too, an ordinary member of society, and not a party member, a person who cares for the future of our country, would like to share my views. Before me lies a newspaper with a report of the speech made by the First Secretary of the Soviet Writers' Union V. Karpov, who said literally the following: "...one feels, in my opinion, that we are overdoing it. One sees how every leader is being effectively equated with a bureaucrat... A bureaucrat is a bad, heartless, stagnating leader." In other words, a bureaucrat is simply a good-for-nothing occupying a senior post – is that how we should understand him? So if we replace all the bad officials with good people, will the problem of bureaucracy then be solved? I would call that a profoundly misleading statement. The bureaucracy is more of a social than a moral category. In my opinion, it is a group of people, a whole class, if you like, that rules the country in its own egoistical interests, not those of the people. A bureacrat is part of the overall bureaucratic system, and this system can "crush" even good people and make them work for it. Those who refuse are simply thrown aside. Of course, a good bureaucrat is better than a bad one. But actually we need neither good, nor bad. What we need like a breath of fresh air is a system under which any official, any leading body will feel constantly accountable to the people. Bureaucrats will be eliminated only when the people themselves really govern our society, and not before.

S. Khaustov,
Magadan,
U.S.S.R.

■ I fully agree with the proposal made by Mikhail Gorbachev at the party conference that secretaries of corresponding party committees should be recommended for the posts of chairmen of the Soviets. They should be elected by secret ballot at a full session of the Soviet. What I can't understand is why some delegates at the conference expressed the view that such a system runs counter to the processes of democratization in the country. In this particular instance, the responsibility of the Party secretary would be greatly increased. Moreover, if he is not elected to head a body of Soviet power, then, apparently, he will also have to resign from his Party post.

S. Zalesskaya,
Kursk,
U.S.S.R.

■ I should like to comment on the article by Academician Andrei Sakharov (No. 24/88). Not so long ago he was living in exile and deprived of the necessary conditions for his scientific work. This was incomprehensible and seemed offensive. When the press reported that this major scientist had been given back the opportunity to work, I was very glad. Not only our country, but the whole thinking world needs people like Sakharov. I should like to draw attention to his words about the need to withdraw our troops from Afghanistan and render that country extensive aid. I was impressed by his expression of non-party members' confidence in perestroika. In the past such people were called non-party Bolsheviks, but later such a description disappeared. In my opinion he was right that people should have the right to choose which country they want to live in. I remember how shortly after the revolution those who wanted to leave could do so without any obstacles being placed in their way. In conclusion I should like to wish Andrei Sakharov a long life, good health and fruitful work for the good of our country and everyone on Earth.

Nikolai Grechukha,
Gomel,
U.S.S.R.

■ I give my wholehearted support to the idea of setting up an organization in the U.S.S.R. to bring together all former prisoners-of-war and those taken away to do forced labour for the nazis. In May, 1942, such an awful fate befell me. As a 16-year-old boy I was forcibly taken to Germany to work there, and spent two years and nine months doing convict labour. But the nazis did not make a slave of me. I made 12 attempts to escape, was twice sentenced to death, and was interned in prisons and concentration camps. In March, 1945, I was freed by the troops of the First Ukrainian Front. In the battles for the liberation of Czechoslovakia, already a private in the Soviet Army, I was wounded and concussed.

As the years and days pass, fewer and fewer people remain who knew the horrors of fascism (prisoners of war, and those forced to work for the nazis). They need some form of association. Through the press and TV I appeal to all survivors to come forward.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Yuri Karbovsky
engineer,
Ternopol,
U.S.S.R.

■ The now famous letter sent by Nina Andreyeva to the paper Sovetskaya Rossiya has not yet been forgotten. Many papers and magazines have passed verdict on this "manifesto." But what bothers me is that right up to the present the stand of the newspaper itself remains unclear. The letter revealed that forces opposed to perestroika exist in the country. That is a very serious thing and should worry all who support the changes. And it does worry them all – with the exception of Sovetskaya Rossiya. Even after the Pravda article, it failed to publish its own view. Why? I believe the mist around the manifesto of the conservative forces should be dispelled, and the sooner the better.

Y. Ivanov
Murmansk region,
U.S.S.R.

■ What interests me most in your magazine are Glasnost and People sections. The first attracts me by the wide range of different views expressed. Only I would like to see fewer generalizations and long discourses, and more facts. As for the second section I mentioned, I have the following proposal to make. Where do our own leading figures come in? We already know much more about American, British and West German public figures than about our own, especially our leading statesmen. Why not have something about them? Believe me, their

GLASNOST

prestige would not suffer, rather the reverse. Otherwise we learn more about them from rumours from the other side and the briefest of official biographies. So more about our own people in People.

P. Atmer,
Bristol,
Great Britain

■ It wouldn't be a bad idea for your magazine to print a big, and more importantly, unbiassed article about Lev Trotsky. We foreigners know very little about him and I gather that the Soviet people know even less. Our bourgeois historians claim he was the main proponent of world revolution and a victim of Stalin's terror. You either prefer conscientiously to ignore him altogether, or give the barest of facts, as I noticed after reading the article in the Soviet Encyclopedia. I think an article in your magazine would be of interest both to Soviet and foreign readers of New Times and would further the cause of perestroika.

Rudolph Provorov,
loader,
Severodvinsk,
U.S.S.R.

■ I read your round-table discussion on prices in No. 1/88 and decided to express my views on the subject. For over eleven years I've been working as a loader at a consumer goods warehouse and know a lot about prices, or rather about their growth. According to my observations, prices of manufactured consumer goods have roughly doubled in the past ten years. True the price increases were not put through openly, but in roundabout way. For instance, the quality of goods is improved (if one can call it an improvement) as in the case of a chisel – its wooden handle is replaced with a plastic one, and the price is doubled! Not once have prices been cut, but always increased. Any minor change in an item and it immediately becomes much more expensive. Instead of saturating the market with the necessary goods, their prices are raised and in this way shortages are made up for. My wages have not gone up by a single rouble in all these years.

I am convinced that there can be no justification for these roundabout price increases, since all the arguments of the type – better quality, therefore higher prices – are pure nonsense.

CARRYING ON THE DISCUSSION

Victor Polishchuk,
agronomist, aged 28
Kirovograd Region,
U.S.S.R.

■ Some of your readers write that Stalin should not be criticized so unequivocally, as our country achieved a great deal during those years. That's true. But at what price? The lives of thousands of people. Only a society that is truly free both externally and internally can achieve truly great things. And one could not even talk of any kind of freedom, since in those years one lived constantly with one idea: will I be arrested, or will I not?

Stalin was neither a great politician, nor a great statesman. His primary concern was to concentrate power and win glory. Nor was he always able to assess the situation properly, as, for example, just before the war. We had built up a mighty industry in the shortest ever space of time, but what did we have to face the enemy with? I think that all today's problems are rooted in the Stalinist era.

Steffen Theil,
Berlin, G.D.R.

■ Evdokim Solenkov's letter from Bulgaria (No. 22/88) left a contradictory impression on me. I'll explain why. I can only welcome the wish to establish the historical truth. Not for nothing is it said: "Tell me about the past and I'll tell you about the future." That applies in particular to the profound perestroika now taking place in your country, where I think the whole truth about the past has become the yardstick for everything. It is necessary to speak of all the ups and downs in the history of a nation. Only those who speak openly of this and seek to determine the truth are capable of correctly evaluating events and the links between past years and decades. That applies, specifically, to Stalin's place in history. He can neither be painted entirely in black as by the reader from Sofia, nor seen in a rosy light as by the reader from San Remo (No. 15/88).

One of Stalin's greatest virtues, as I see it, was that he made heavy industry the foundation for all Soviet development. The implementation of this strategic plan and the development of the raw material and power industries, and later the defence industry, ensured the Soviet Union the economic might and defence potential that enabled it to stand up to imperialist encirclement. On the other hand, during those same years the dictatorship of the proletariat was replaced by the dictatorship of the Party, then of the Politbureau, and then by that of Stalin. He used his unlimited power for evil purposes – shortly before the war to unleash mass repressions, destroying or imprisoning a very considerable proportion of all officers, generals, outstanding scientists and designers.

More than 35 years have passed since Stalin's death, but the truth about him must be revealed as a warning to future generations.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT

Drawing by N. Malov

HIGHLIGHT OF THE WEEK

PRIVATE OPINION

HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER, **Vice-Chancellor and Foreign Minister, Federal Republic of Germany**

My working visit to Moscow took place at a crucial moment. An exchange of visits is expected – Federal Chancellor Kohl to the Soviet Union this autumn, and General Secretary Gorbachev to the Federal Republic early next year. These are to be events of great importance for relations between the two countries. That is why I discussed, among other things, preparations for Chancellor Kohl's visit to the Soviet Union.

At the same time, our consultations were held at a promising moment in the development of East-West relations, when efforts are being made to work out a balanced and concrete final document for the Vienna meeting and a mandate for talks on conventional arms cuts.

I have already stressed that I welcome the statement made by the Warsaw Treaty meeting in the Polish capital. It contains positive points and responds to the anxiety in the field of conventional arms clearly formulated by the Western alliance in December 1986. The Warsaw Treaty's statement reflects a new approach to the partners and an appreciation of their positions. It shows that we are witnessing not a public dialogue between "doves," but a dialogue with the aim of understanding the interests of the opposite side.

This is very positive, in our opinion, as too is the recognition by the Warsaw Treaty of the need for asymmetrical cuts. We have taken this view for a long time, as the aim of these cuts is to consolidate stability and make a surprise attack impossible.

All this inspires hope that talks on conventional arms cuts will begin. At the same time, the Warsaw Treaty's statement gives a powerful impulse to the working out of a mandate for similar talks at the Vienna meeting and for an early start to them.

RANKO PETKOVIC, **Doctor of Political Sciences, Editor-in-Chief of the magazine Review of International Affairs, Yugoslavia**

Those who believed eight years ago that wars in the scorching sands of the Middle East can last only a matter of days have been proved mistaken, as also have those who only recently claimed there was no end to the Iran-Iraq war. Though the conflict was not a blitzkrieg on the one hand or latter-day Thirty Years' War, one the other it has lasted eight years, costing each side a million lives and bringing much suffering to their people.

Moreover, it has not resolved any of the issues.

Having amassed huge petrodollar profits, Iraq dealt a blow at Iran in the belief it could force it to make territorial concessions in the Shatt al Arab area. But it did not succeed in doing so.

Iran, believing Allah and time to be on its side, was confident it could topple the Baghdad regime.

It did not succeed either.

After the U.S. intervention in Vietnam and several Arab-Israeli wars, and now, after Afghanistan, when the Iran-Iraq war is also about to end, a latter-day Clausewitz might have written that on the threshold of the 21st century political ends can no longer be achieved by force of arms.

In the past few decades we have witnessed many changes of great importance for mankind. One of the most fundamental changes which has been taking place recently and will undoubtedly become a major milestone in history, is that neither territory nor sphere of influence nor world power can be acquired by armed force.

After millennia of utopian ideas, a peaceful existence on the entire planet is becoming a real possibility.

ANATOLY LOPATUKHIN, **chairman of the Paritet-88 cooperative, Moscow**

The Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. has suspended the provisions of its March 14 decree concerning the taxation of cooperatives. The four previous months of the operation of the tax system showed that excessive rates of taxation hindered the growth of the cooperative movement. They prevented a dynamic expansion of the material and technical basis of cooperatives, did not stimulate the introduction of modern technologies, led to higher prices, and encouraged the black economy.

An inter-departmental commission has been set up to work out a new taxation procedure. The fact that it has rejected secretive bureaucratic approach to the issue and is being guided by the conclusions of scientists and the proposals of the cooperatives themselves inspires me, a cooperator, with optimism. I believe that several taxation schemes, published and discussed in advance by the general public, should be put before the Supreme Soviet. Only then can the legislators adopt the balanced decision best suited to the interests of society.

Peace offensive at the height of war

"Just wait and you'll see that we shall make progress very soon. I'm maintaining contacts with both sides," said U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar after a meeting with the Iranian and Iraqi foreign ministers.

The steps taken by Iraq and Iran towards ending the conflict were followed by an escalation of the fighting on the front line. This time the attacks were launched by Iraqi troops. A paradoxical situation arose, with two simultaneous processes at work: further fierce battles on the front line, and energetic moves by Perez de Cuellar to settle the conflict. These moves were not entirely futile, though it became clear right away that it would take not days but probably weeks to achieve peace. It is not easy to settle a conflict that has lasted almost eight years. However, Perez de Cuellar is optimistic about the prospects of the peace talks between the warring sides.

It is enough to look through the reports that came in after the peace moves by Iraq and Iran to see that the present situation is paradoxical. Consultations were beginning in the Security Council on ways of ending the conflict. At the same time Iraqi planes attacked an atomic power plant under construction in Bushire, a petrochemical complex at Bandar Khomeini, and three other economic installations in southwest Iran. Baghdad said that it welcomed "the new position" taken by Iran, which had accepted Resolution 598, but would continue hostilities until Teheran proved its desire for peace with practical moves.

"Iraq believes that Iran's latest decision (to accept Resolution 598) is a tactical measure with the aim of gaining time and preparing for new aggression," Iraqi Foreign Minister Tareq Aziz said.

In these circumstances Perez de Cuellar, in agreement with Iran and Iraq, sent a U.N. team to these countries to establish the conditions of prisoners of war there in order to prepare the way for exchanges of prisoners when a ceasefire comes into effect. To all appearances, the Secretary-General does not doubt that a ceasefire will be achieved.

Meanwhile, Iraqi attacks have intensified along the entire front line. According to communiqués, Iraqi planes flew 45 missions on July 22 and 365 on July 25. Subsequent reports said that the Iraqi air force had made 261 attacks on July 26, 353 on July 27, 278 on July 28, 239 on July 29, 293 on July 30, and so on. Iran has taken retaliatory action. President Sayed Ali Khamenei has been to the front and urged all Iranians capable of carrying arms to follow his example.

However, Iraq has the initiative at the front. It has liberated all territories occupied by Iran and launched raids deep into its territory. Rather strange operations have started. Iraqi troops captured Iranian cities and soon left them, withdrawing to Iraq. Iraqi troops withdrew from captured Iranian cities in one sector of the front and simultaneously occupied an Iranian city in another. Iraqi troops were reported again to have used chemical weapons, and Iran has lodged a protest with the U.N. Security Council.

In spite of these developments, the U.N. secretary-general continued talks with the Iranian and Iraqi foreign ministers. A group of U.N. military experts arrived in Teheran to study the situation there, and will then proceed to Baghdad for the same purpose.

Perez de Cuellar's mission was complicated by the obstinacy of both sides. Iraq insisted on direct talks with Iran before a ceasefire on the front. For its part, Iran demanded that Iraqi forces stop their attacks, including those with chemical weapons. It was necessary to find mutually acceptable compromises. Iran ultimately agreed to direct talks, while Iraq declared that it would withdraw its troops from four captured Iranian cities within 48 hours. Such is a far from complete list of events over the course of a single week.

Even a cursory review of developments on the front line shows that Iraq is trying to score as many points as possible with the finishing line in sight. However, Iran and Iraq are engaged in bloodshed, not a sports contest. It seems that by capturing and then abandoning Iranian towns, Baghdad wants to demonstrate its military superiority over Teheran. At the same time Iraqi troops are trying to capture more and more Iranian soldiers, who are regarded by the Western press as "bargaining chips" in the coming peace talks

Iranian prisoners of war in Iraq

and in the exchange of prisoners of war.

Both sides give different figures for the number of soldiers taken prisoner, as well as for their losses and successes. Iran is believed to have captured about 100,000 Iraqis, twice the number of their own prisoners in Iraq. The American television company NBC has reported that Iran now holds about 50,000 Iraqis, and Iraq 35,000 Iranians. In any case, it is to be supposed that Baghdad is trying to reduce the gap. One communiqué says that 12,207 Iranians have been taken prisoner in the period under review.

The truly heroic efforts and prompt actions of Perez de Cuellar are yielding results in a situation that sometimes looks like a labyrinth. He began consultations on the settlement of the conflict a day earlier than planned. There was good reason for such a haste as every day of delay means more losses on the front.

In spite of the fierce fighting, both countries support the efforts of the Secretary-General and the Security Council to establish peace in the region. However paradoxical and even cruel it may sound, the Iraqi attempts to capture the largest possible number of Iranians indicate that the exchange of prisoners of war is not too far off. It seems that Baghdad itself considers the exchange inevitable.

Both sides are obviously tired of the futile war with no possible victors. Only a year ago, multi-billion reparations and the replacement of the present Iraqi regime were advanced as conditions for a ceasefire. Today Iran's spiritual leader the Ayatollah Khomeini has declared that Teheran accepts the ceasefire proposal and that it has no intention of "continuing the war on the basis of some new strategy."

Even such an obstacle as the Teheran-Baghdad disagreement over the date on which direct talks would begin seems now to have been removed by the diplomatic efforts of Perez de Cuellar. It is no exaggeration to say that the fact that the United Nations' useful and constructive role in world affairs is being revived is entirely due to the efforts of the present Secretary-General.

Though the Iran-Iraq war continues, grounds for optimism exist.

There is, however, no alternative to reconciliation. A pearl diver, if such a comparison can be made, runs the risk of drowning by trying to collet as many oysters as possible during his last moments under water.

Dmitry Zgersky

United Nations: Persevering Effort

The United Nations' prestige is built by its member states. When the organization proves ineffective, the blame lies with individual members. We shall not give here a comprehensive list of cases where the United States has defeated many of the motions tabled in the United Nations and its Security Council on, for instance, the Middle East. Let us simply recall U.N. moves relating directly to the Iran-Iraq conflict.

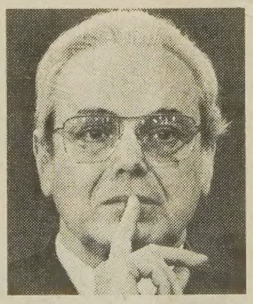
September 28, 1980. Security Council resolution 479 calls on Iran and Iraq to refrain immediately from any further use of force and settle their dispute by peaceful means and in line with the principles of justice and international law. The Security Council also favours the idea of good offices on the part of the U.N. Secretary-General.

July 12, 1982. Security Council resolution 514 calls for a ceasefire, an immediate cessation of all hostilities and the withdrawal of troops to internationally recognized borders. It also envisages the sending of a U.N. team to monitor ceasefire and troop withdrawal.

October 4, 1982. Security Council resolution 522 confirms the urgent need fully to implement resolution 514 and continue the mediation efforts.

October 31, 1983. Security Council resolution 540 condemns all violations of international law and calls for an immediate end to all military operations against civilian installations, including towns and residential areas, and in the Persian Gulf region.

June 1, 1984. Security Council resolution 552 reaffirms the right to freedom of navigation in international waters and urges all states to respect the territorial integrity of countries not involved in the armed conflict.



Perez de Cuellar: an uphill job *TASS photo*

February 24, 1986. Security Council resolution 582 expresses regret at the escalation of the conflict and the use of chemical weapons, and calls on both sides to start discussing without delay all aspects of the conflict through mediation or any other peaceful means.

October 8, 1986. Security Council resolution 588 calls on Iran and Iraq to implement resolution 582 fully and without delay.

July 20, 1987. The Security Council adopts resolution 598. Unlike all its previous resolutions making mere appeals to the sides, it contains a demand for an immediate ceasefire on land, sea and air followed by a withdrawal of forces to international boundaries. It refers to articles 39 and 40 of the U.N. Charter, which empower the Security Council to determine the existence of any threat to the peace, or breach of the peace, to decide what measures shall be taken to maintain or restore peace, and to demand that both sides comply with these measures. Resolution 598 envisages the possibility of setting up an unbiassed body to examine the question of responsibility for the conflict.

It can be said in conclusion that no mediating missions could do what the United Nations has done with regard to the Iran-Iraq conflict. It is too early to speak of a final result, but the fact that the two warring nations have expressed their respect for resolution 598 and readiness to conform with it testifies to the growing prestige of the only forum of the world community.

The Secretary-General should not be discouraged by sceptical statements, and every effort should be made to ensure that his noble mission is crowned with success and the Security Council resolution carried out in both spirit and letter. And this does not depend solely on Iran and Iraq.

Alexander Kalugin

The outlook for Jalalabad

It was at Jalalabad that the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan began on May 15. What has changed here since then? How is the process of national reconciliation progressing? This is the subject of the following report for New Times by Sergei Belogurov and Mikhail Evstafyev.

Before we left Kabul for Jalalabad we had heard a great many conflicting rumours about the situation in the province of Nangarhar following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from there. Foreign radio "voices" vied with one another in commenting on statements by leaders of the armed opposition to the effect that all the roads around Jalalabad were blocked, that the city was likely at any moment to fall into the hands of the advancing mujahedeens. The exact dates when that would happen were given. And a few hours before we took off came the report of a powerful explosion in the centre of Jalalabad that had killed and wounded more than 60 civilians.

At 10 o'clock that night we were driving through the deserted streets of Jalalabad. Every now and then our headlights picked out of the darkness the figure of soldier who pointed his gun at us and stopped our car with a shout of "dresh!" ("stop!") The provincial committee member who accompanied us explained that there was no curfew in the city and that the sentry posts on squares and entrances to state institutions were a usual precautionary measure.

We spent the night in the Spinzar hotel. For a long time we could not fall asleep. The room was suffocatingly hot and the huge fan on the ceiling merely stirred the hot air, without bringing any relief. More depressing still was the uncertainty; we had no clear idea of the situation. We were filled with grim forebodings as we recalled a rumour we had heard in Kabul that a special detail for the capture of Soviet newsmen was operating in Jalalabad. In a word, the outlook was anything but reassuring.

The first to dispel our apprehensions next morning was Nasser Sarhadi, a local radio reporter. He laughed at our fears. The situation in the city was normal, he said. The insurgents had presented no real threat to the city since the Soviet troops left. "The population approves of the troop withdrawal, though so far support for the government is not making itself tangibly felt," he said. "I would say that people have adopted a wait-and-see position. If things remain unchanged for the next two or three months, the population will really believe in the strength of the people's government and in the ability of the government forces to control the situation by themselves."

Nangarhar Province now has a new governor – Wakil Mohammad Azam Shinwari. He does not belong to any political party and enjoys considerable public prestige. He is not just a figurehead. The entire political and military power in the province is concentrated in his hands. In Nasser Sarhadi's opinion, the present governor is "the right man in the right place." And the advent in local administrations of representatives of different parties as well as non-party people is a step towards the formation of a coalition government.

Driving through the city with staff members of the local radio station we came upon a column of people carrying banners and streamers and chanting "Death to the enemies of the Afghan people!", "Death to the warmongers!", "Long live a free and non-aligned Afghanistan!" It was a march in memory of the victims of the bomb explosion engineered by extremists on July 7, outside the Spinzar cinema.

The marchers stopped at Pushtunistan Square in the centre of the city and a meeting began. It was addressed by Sarfaraz Momand, secretary of the pvovincial committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. "We have always been a hard-working and peace-loving people," he said. "Afghanistan was the initiator of the Geneva accords. But today Pakistan, backed by the U.S., continues to fan the flames of the undeclared war. They supply the rebels with arms and training camps for hired killers still operate on our frontier. Schools and mosques continue to go up in flames, and explosions rent the air. The latest instance is the explosion outside the Spinzar cinema which killed 31 and injured more than 30 of our fellow citizens. Today we have assembled to demonstrate our resolve to uphold the cause of peace."

Silence reigned over the square, the roofs of houses and the crowns of palm trees as the citizenry – workers, salesmen, students, and peasants from surrounding villages – paid tribute of a minute of silence to the memory of the victims of the barbarous extremist action. Then one speaker after another mounted the platform to condemn in words of pain and wrath the organizers of the bomb outrage. "Allah bestowed peace upon the people," said moulawi Ashakallah, the imam of the Jalalabad mosque. "And he who raises his hand against peace is doing the Devil's work. Those who committed

The funeral in Jalalabad of victims of an explosion caused by the rebels

this heinous crime do not deserve to be called Moslems, they have sold their souls to the Devil and his serviters on earth."

After the meeting we headed for the Peace Camp, a hostel for returning refugees. Despite the heat the streets were full of bustling crowds. Brightly painted trucks rumbled by on their way from Pakistan to Kabul via Jalalabad. The dukhans were open and doing a lively trade. The vegetable stalls were loaded down with greens of all kind and fruits, and a butcher nearby could be seen cutting chunks of meat from carcasses hanging in the shade. "There is no shortage of food products and other goods in the city," our Afghan colleague Nasser told us. "True, some traders try to speculate on rumours of a siege of the city to raise their prices, but such cases are rare. On the whole, prices here are lower than in Kabul."

Suddenly a car pulled up at a deep crater in the ground. There had been an explosion here the day before in which many lives had been lost. Several men were repairing stalls that had been wrecked by the bomb blast.

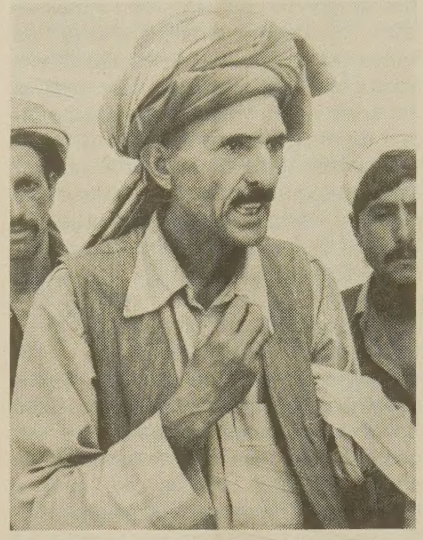
In the Peace Camp hostel we found 15 families that had just returned from Pakistan. We talked with the elders. Wakil Audanai, 45, of the Shinwar tribe had spent five years in Pakistan. "All those years," he said, "they had scared us with stories about Russian soldiers. But now everyone knows that there are no Russian troops in the province. We even saw a TV programme showing them being withdrawn. Thousands of families are ready to return, and as soon as the Id-al-Atha feast is over we can expect them here."

But the road back is not easy: the armed opposition is doing its utmost to prevent the refugees from returning. Pakistani frontier forces in the Torkhan Pass area immediately inform the opposition whenever they spot a group of refugees bound for Afghanistan. The returnees are stopped and the young men are turned back by force or sent straight to training camps. Some families try to cross the frontier over caravan trails, but many of those have been mined by the extremists.

"When Soviet troops were in Nangarhar we believed that the mujahedeens were fighting the infidels, but now we see that they are fighting against their own people," Wakil Audanai said.

More than 4,000 people have returned to the province in the past two months. The local authorities are doing everything possible to make them feel at home. They provide them with food and shelter free of charge, transport, clothing, blankets, mattresses, footwear, and agricultural implements, and help them to find work.

We visited a military encampment at Samarkheil, on the outskirts of Jalalabad. It seemed only yesterday that we had seen off columns of our troops from here. The garrison facilities they had handed over to the Afghan authorities are now occupied by an infantry unit. All the installations – power station, boiler house, field bakery, the laundry and bathouse are functioning.



On his return from Pakistan Wakil Audanai said: "We have realized that the mujahedeens are fighting against their own people."

Photos by authors

Major General Gulam Khazrat, chief of staff of a corps, and several intelligence officers were studying a map of the theatre of operations when we arrived. Khazrat asked us to wait ten minutes or so. We used the time to formulate our questions to him. We wanted to know how the situation in the province had changed since the Soviet troops left, what forces the government army had at its disposal, and whether the rebles were strong enough to threaten Jalalabad. Anticipating our first question, the General invited us to join him at the map.

To sum up briefly our hour-long conversation, the military situation was as follows. So far the armed opposition had not tried to take the city, although military posts in various districts of the province had come under fire. Perhaps the heaviest action had been seen by a frontier battalion in Achin district which on July 8 had fought a battle lasting several hours with 400 well armed rebels. "But our troops did not falter," the General said. "They not only repulsed the attack but dealt a counterblow."

"I am a realist and so I shall not draw you a rosy picture of the situation," Khazrat said. "In all probability there will still be battles with the opposition forces. But I believe they will most likely be of a local character. It is quite possible that, being in possession of such a vast quantity of missiles and shells, they will try to bombard Jalalabad and district centres. What I fear most of all is that the civilian population may suffer."

The General went on to speak of the unceasing discord among the different opposition groupings. For ten years now the "defenders of Islam" have been at loggerheads, unable to achieve unity. They are constantly squabbling. This often leads to bloody clashes. Since the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the province there have been mass desertions from the various bands, some groups refusing to fight their fellow Moslems. Here is an indicative instance. The commander of a combat unit of the Islamic Party of Afghanistan led by Yunys Khalis, personally shot 13 men at the Shpulkai base for refusing to go on a combat assignment.

Alarmed at this state of affairs Khalis had come from Peshawar specially to organize the recruiting of supporters only to meet with a bitter disappointment. The elders of the Ghilzai tribe in Khughiani district refused to send their sons to a senseless death. "I have lost three sons in these past ten years," a former teacher from Khisarak district told a representative of the Islamic Party. "You have brought our people nothing but death and destruction."

The extremists extort money from the rural population. They requisite cattle and foodstuffs, giving them receipts and promising to redeem them after the capture of Jalalabad. All this causes deep dissatisfaction among the people who are weary to death of the war.

"According to our intelligence reports," the General continued, "the numerical strength of the opposition forces is about 12,000. I won't give you the exact figure, but I can tell you that we have several times more. But to return to your question. From the standpoint of military science, for a successful offensive – the storming of Jalalabad, for example – the rebels must have a preponderance of manpower; their forces must be many times greater than ours. So far that is far from the case."

We left the General's office with a more realistic picture of the situation in Nangarhar. Returning to an entry in our notebooks made before leaving Kabul, which read: "Can Jalalabad hold out?" We crossed it out and wrote instead: "The next two or three months will be decisive for the final consolidation of people's power in the province of Nangarhar." We shall be able to verify this conclusion in September.

Jalalabad – Kabul

The façade or the backyard?

An inhabitant of the European part of the Soviet Union, and Moscow-born into the bargain, I have always thought of the U.S.S.R. as a great European power. But it is also a major Asian and Pacific state. However, this geographical fact is difficult to prove to the Japanese.

The Soviet Union is, indeed, a large Pacific state, but up to now it has only been so geographically. Its eastern regions, occupying over six million square kilometres, or nearly a third of the country's area, have immense natural resources and a bracing climate. True, four fifths of the Soviet Far East lie in the Arctic and subarctic region. Nonetheless, even the remaining fifth, or a million and a quarter square kilometres (equalling the areas of France, Britain, Austria and both German states put together), would be enough to establish an agricultural, industrial and health resort area there.

The Far Eastern façade of the Soviet Union stretches for 4,500 kilometres. However, it has long been regarded by many as the neglected "backyard of the great power."

"The Pacific age"

Signs that the centre of the world's economic life is shifting to the Pacific region appeared over ten years ago. The next century has even been called the "Pacific age." In 1960 the total output of the Pacific states came to 38.5 per cent of the gross product of the Atlantic region, and in 1982 the figure was 57.3 per cent. In the early 1980s the volume of the United States' trade with countries in the Pacific region exceeded that of its trade with European countries.

It is estimated that by the year 2000 the gross product of the Asian-Pacific region (APR) will amount to 75-80 per cent of the aggregate gross domestic product of the United States and Western Europe, and perhaps equal it if China's gross output is taken into account. A lot of other data about the growing role of the APR in world politics can be found in both specialized and popular literature. The radical changes in the region have also attracted the attention of the new Soviet leadership.

The speech delivered by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok in July 1986 marked the beginning of a new Soviet policy in Asia. Moscow's intention to shape its foreign policy in the region in a more constructive way has obviously alarmed those who have hitherto dismissed the Soviet Union's role in Asian affairs. Certain political circles in the United States, Japan and some other countries began to talk of "Soviet expansionism," the danger of a destabilization in the Pacific region.

It should be said that in the past we have on more than one occasion given grounds for political speculations. The emphasis on military power misled even those who were prepared to treat our policy without bias. This is how Soviet policy was assessed by Soka University professor Osamu Nakanishi and former head of the Defence Agency Secretariat K. Takeoka.

"It seems to me," Prof. Nakanishi says, "that till the end of the 1970s the Soviet Union had economic interests in the region. But after the end of the Vietnam war and the conclusion of a Soviet-Vietnamese treaty in 1978 its policy went military. If the Soviet Union makes greater efforts towards a further reduction of armaments in the Asian and Pacific region, the peoples of the region will respond favourably. The historic agreements on nuclear disarmament, signed by the American and Soviet leaders in Washington, are also of invaluable importance for the APR. As for the Soviet Union's economic role in the region, it seems so far to be insignificant."

K. Takeoka emphasized the importance of the new thinking displayed by the present Soviet leadership. It is the first time, he believes, that the Soviet Union has placed the emphasis on ensuring not only its own security but also the security of all other countries. Takeoka takes a positive view of the prospects for Soviet economic growth, particularly from the standpoint of its impact on world affairs.

Both Nakanishi and Takeoka touched mainly on the military strategic aspects of the situation in the Asian-Pacific region from the standpoint of Japan's security, whereas I thought with regret that if they regarded the Soviet Far East as part of the APR not only geographically but also economically, if they saw it as a real element of business cooperation, the subject of our conversation would have been quite different.

The military strategic issues are of course important. There are not a few seats of serious tension in the APR, and many security problems have not been resolved. But the prospects of settling them can be viewed with a certain degree of optimism, especially now, after the conclusion of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan and the INF treaty, and some progress on the Kampuchean issue.

Economically determined

It would seem that economic cooperation between Asian and Pacific states is today the most essential condition for achieving mutual understanding and peace in the region. We have already lost much time in becoming fully-fledged partners in such cooperation. It should be said that since the late 1950s the APR has been developing more rapidly than other regions. In addition to Japan, major headway has been made in the past few years by South Korea, Taiwan, Hongkong and Singapore. It is especially disappointing that, with its colossal potential, the Soviet Far East has effectively remained outside the system of the regional division of labour.

In the 1970s and early 1980s considerable harm was done by the Soviet policy of rebuffing virtually every move by Western states, because only Soviet proposals were deemed perfect in Moscow, and of seeing a danger in the formation of new, even purely economic groups of capitalist states and rejecting outright the very idea of contacts with them. Such an attitude was taken, in particular, towards the Pacific Economic Cooperation Conference (PECC).

While Moscow was looking for signs of a hostile policy towards the Soviet Union, the PECC nations confidently expanded economic cooperation in various fields. Japan plays a leading part in the organization. One of PECC's sponsors and, it can be said, its ideologist, is Japan's former Foreign Minister Saburo Okita, the

The Igirma-Tairiku timber mill is one of the first Soviet-Japanese ventures in Irkutsk Region.

present chairman of the Japan National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation. He believes, in particular, that by persistently tackling the common problems facing PECC countries, both industrial and developing ones, the organization will find ways of resolving the contradictions between the poor and rich countries of the region.

Saburo Okita is urging Tokyo to increase aid to the Pacific nations in every possible way. No doubt the developing nations are interested in such aid, though they also see the danger of Japan's economic expansionism. The "new industrial states," which successfully compete with Japan in the marketing of motorcars, and electronic and other high-technology products, are also fighting to secure the most advantageous positions.

In spite of the contradictory interests of these states, a Pacific economic community is taking shape in the APR, with the possibility of finding a common balance of aims and interests and ways of achieving them. Some of the countries have capital and modern technology. Others have natural resources, and others again plenty of skilled manpower. One would think that the Soviet Union could take part in the division of labour being shaped in the region. But in Okita's opinion this is impossible due to the absence of a market economy in the U.S.S.R.

However, China became a fully-fledged member of PECC two years ago, and is successfully expanding cooperation with the purely "market economies."

As a result of the economic reforms in China and, in particular, the decentralization of its economy, prospects have emerged for more dynamic cooperation between it and the capitalist countries. The Soviet Union is also switching to economic methods of management. So it is not a question of a contradiction between plan and market. The arguments put forward by PECC ideologists are merely a pretext for keeping the Soviet Union out of the organization. The point is that the United States, Japan and the other big countries of the region are afraid of a more powerful rival.

On the other hand, Japanese businessmen have long shown interest in the Soviet Far East. The tapping of the Far East's natural resources and the intensive development of its industry and scientific and technical potential are opening up new prospects for them. That is why the political considerations of Japan's ruling circles often conflict with the interests of its business community. In the opinion of T. Yahiro, deputy chairman of the Kaidanren, "Japan runs the risk of losing the chance of further expanding its economic relations with the Soviet Union if it continues to take a cautious stand on this question."

Far-sighted Japanese businessmen are already taking steps to form joint ventures and trying to establish production cooperation. However, their concrete proposals are often bogged down in our bureaucracy. Many Japanese businessmen note with surprise that since the reorganization of our foreign economic complex they have been finding it hard to reestablish contacts and ties with long-standing partners.

Making up for lost time

There are very real conditions for active cooperation between the Soviet Union and the APR. Though officially the U.S.S.R. is not a member of PECC, it cooperates fruitfully with the commissions for fisheries, power, transport, mineral resources and tourism. Academician Evgeny Primakov, chairman of the Soviet National Committee for Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, attended the sixth session of PECC in Osaka in May 1988 as a guest.

Possibilities also exist for wider cooperation with individual Asian and Pacific states. Increased interest in the development of the Far East and the establishment of contacts with countries in the APR is forcing the Soviet Union to make up for lost time and contribute to the solution of regional and global economic problems.

In the 1970s and 1980s the Soviet Far East made almost no progress in its development. In 1986 it accounted for 3 per cent of the country's industrial output, little more than it did 30 years ago (2.8 per cent in 1958). True, development was hindered to a large extent by objective factors, but in the new conditions it should proceed at a faster rate than other regions. At present, the growth rate in the Soviet Far East is somewhat higher, nevertheless, it is considerably lower than the economic growth rate in the other countries in the Asian-Pacific region. A number of Soviet experts believe therefore that it is necessary first of all to provide the Far East with skilled manpower and induce workers to stay there. Today only 7.2 million people, including the migrant population, live in the region.

This problem is impossible to solve without building a modern infrastructure, making use of modern technology, providing conditions for the activity of cooperatives, and applying the new forms and methods of economic management made available by the current perestroika. One of the principal means of doing so is the establishment of direct ties between Far Eastern enterprises and cooperatives and their partners in China, Japan, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and other countries.

During his visit to Vladivostok, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of the necessity of economic development in the Far East. In view of this, some politicians will evidently reflect as to whether the far-fetched issues of bilateral relations should be brought before the international community, while those who are prepared to cooperate but for political considerations still refrain from doing so will, I think, make a final choice.

Vladimir Ovsyannikov
our own correspondent

Tokyo

Incompatible ideologies, but...

Vladlen Kuznetsov

The realities of the nuclear age in an interdependent world call for a new approach to ideology as well.

Much is changing in this world of ours. Under the influence of the new thinking international policies – in general and in particular – are becoming more balanced and rational. We are beginning to take a fresh, unblinking look at things of which we had been accustomed to take a fossilized, stereotyped, even dogmatic view. The concepts of peaceful coexistence, of national and international security, the role of the military factor, and many, many others have changed.

But what about ideology? Is it, too, changing in the new conditions?

Not by bread alone...

The significance of ideology has by no means waned in a world wholly in the power of the scientific and technololgical revolution, weighed down by economic and global problems and in the grip of a dramatic struggle for survival in the face of two looming disasters – military and ecological. Being determines consciousness – this is axiomatic for us. But the reverse is also true –– consciousness determines being. We are today witnesses of how the new political thinking is shaping the contours of a new, safe world – a world without weapons and wars. It is not only capturing the minds of men but has already begun to make itself felt in world politics.

However much the world is engrossed in material concerns, it always seeks to gain a deeper understanding and perception of itself, its spiritual, intellectual, cultural values, and its prospects. In a word, mankind does not live by bread alone. It lives by virtue of its dedication to the ideas of freedom, equality, brotherhood, democracy and progress, to the entire system of human values created over the centuries, and to the greatest of these values – a just and democratic world.

History has recorded no few crusades mounted not only for the seizure of foreign lands and wealth, but also in order to punish and crucify the adherents of other ideas and faiths. Speaking of the more recent past, there have been some clearly defined ideological wars. The Entente tried to strangle socialism in the cradle. And to stamp out Bolshevism was also the objective of nazi Germany.

After World War II as well such ideologization has continued to play its pernicious role. It was this that in the early postwar years led to Churchill's notorious Fulton speech, to the doctrine of rolling back communism. To the concept of nuclear deterrence, and the policy of ostracizing world socialism economically and technologically. To the Reagan doctrine whose authors see "the hand of Moscow" in everything.

The power of ideological postulates is great. The passions that rage in ideological struggle are sometimes comparable to those on the battlefield. And while all these years one side has preached rolling back communism, the other has on occasion responded in keeping with the "eye for eye, tooth for tooth" principle. Recall if only Khrushchev's impulsive "we shall bury you." There have also been other thoughtless statements and actions which provided a long-looked-for excuse for levelling accusations of the "red menace" and "communist expansion" variety and for talk about the "aggressiveness" of socialist ideology.

An end to crusades

Is ideological confrontation an encumbrance in world politics, interstate relations? We would not be realists were we to deny that it is. But this confrontation cannot be avoided. It is an objective fact of life in the present-day world. To deideologize it – and such exhortations have been and still are made – is as impossible as it is to compel people to think alike or to standardize the intellectual potential of our civilization.

But one sphere that can and must be deideologized is interstate relations. This is not just wishful or, still less, naive thinking. It is an imperative of the nuclear and space age which rules out crusades – military as well as ideological. It leaves us no alternative but to build bridges across the chasm of ideological differences for the sake of the survival of the human race. No, this is not a matter of some kind of convergence or the creation of an universal ideology, for socialism and capitalism are at opposite political, economic and ideological poles. Lenin's thesis that the choice is between socialist and bourgeois ideologies remains fully valid.

Neither is it a matter of socialism or capitalism abandoning their ideologies for the sake of preserving peace. What is needed is to refrain from ideologized approaches to the building of relations between states with diametrically opposed systems, to questions of military policy, to security. It is necessary to rise above ideological differences in questions of war and peace, to bring one's ideals and values into complete conformity with the common interests of all nations and states, the interests of preserving human civilization. With the fundamental interests of international security.

The U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries are already practising such an approach. It is set forth in the joint project for the establishment of a comprehensive system of international security which has been submitted to the United Nations. The creation of such a system is not only a military, political and economic undertaking. It is also a humanitarian and ideological task. The humanitarian section of the project provides for international cooperation in promoting the ideas of peace and disarmament, in giving effect to the political, social and individual rights of man, his fundamental right to live in a peaceful world. It underscores the importance of strengthening the spirit of mutual understanding and concord among peoples, of being better informed of all aspects of each other's lives, and eradicating genocide, apartheid, race,

national or religious exclusiveness.

Such is the road to deideologization, humanization of interstate relations, to ridding them of all that prevents the free development of each individual and humanity as a whole. Thus, the fundamental theoretical issue that has become urgent both for the Marxists and their opponents – that of correlating class and general human principles in world development, and, consequently, in politics – finds realization in universal practice.

Deideologization means recognition of the right of every nation, every country to free social, political and ideological choice.

Deideologization means rejecting the "enemy image," ending the demonization of the "potential adversary" and the militarization of public consciousness; it means renouncing the dogmas of psychological warfare, smear propaganda, and all that which in international parlance is qualified as moral aggression, information imperialism.

Deideologization means renouncing all claims to leadership in world affairs, to the right to convert others to one's own faith.

Deideologization means ridding political positions and approaches of ideological intolerance and prejudice.

Deideologization means the ability in politics and in shaping interstate relations to rise above ideological differences.

Commitment to humanity

Ideologies are incompatible with one another. But they must be compatible with the new political thinking. An ideology is worth something if it is subordinated to the humanist goal of preserving life and civilization on earth. An ideology is worth something if it is inspired by ideas of cooperation and if it serves the cause of peace.

Two ideologies continue in many respects to determine the face of our contradictory and at the same time interdependent world. However, we are witnessing the birth of a new phenomenon: the consciousness of being part of one world. Vladimir Vernadsky, in his time, advanced the thesis of the planetary scale of man's conscious activity. The noosphere is what this area of rational activity is called. The better this sphere is explored and the more it is enriched, the more settled, reliable and better off will this integral world of ours be. Socialism with its genuine, and not merely declarative, dedication to the ideals of freedom, equality and brotherhood, with its truly scientific approach to all phenomena of life, can do much for the development and enrichment of man's conscious activity on a global scale.

Recall what Lenin said: "...already under capitalism, all economic, political and spiritual life is becoming more and more international. Socialism will make it completely international." Perestroika enables socialism, now undergoing renewal, to play a worthy role in internationalization processes. This applies to socialist ideology, which is destined to become the ideology of universal unity and progress and to assert the priority of universal human values, lofty intellectual, moral and spiritual principles, a new, healthy, world atmosphere, free from prejudice, distrust and enmity. Its mission is to internationalize the growing sense of commitment, of sharing all the affairs, concerns, anxieties and troubles of mankind.

Tolerance of dissent

Politics are perhaps more easily influenced by the new thinking than ideology. The latter is more tenacious of established stereotypes and more resistant to changes and external influences. But ideology, that arsenal of ideas and values, like everything else in this world, is also in need of modernization, of renewal if it is to measure up to the demands of the time.

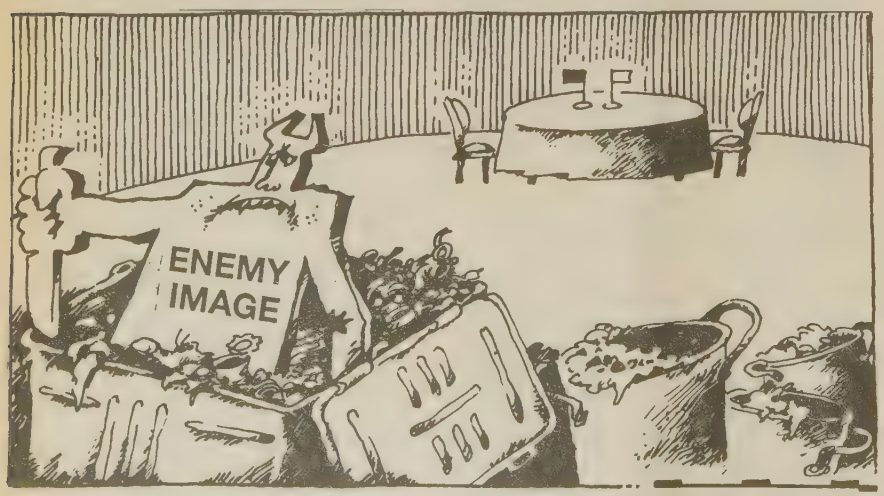
The time makes it imperative to renounce everything that would bear any resemblance to obsessiveness and fanaticism, pathological intolerance of dissent, and a fatalistic approach to the relations between the two worlds. To renounce the "better dead than red" sentiment, and, in equal measure, the possibility of anyone taking it into his head to consider it better to be dead than "white." However ideologicaly poles apart East and West may be, it does not behove them to copy the Montagues and Capulets with their senseless, suicidal hostility to each other. More tolerance of the views of others, more tolerance of other world outlooks – that is what this concord-hungry world needs.

Ideological incompatibiilty does not exclude compatibility in the search for the so badly needed trust between nations, in the realization of universal projects and concepts for pooling the efforts of mankind in diverse areas of global social progress. Dialogue is becoming a characteristic feature of our time. Dialogue between governments, parliaments, parties, peoples. It is high time for the ideologists also to go over from monologue to dialogue.

We are witnessing a contest between two ideologies, two systems of ideals and values for influence on people's minds the world over. No one can prohibit that struggle or stop it. But neither should it be dramatized and, the more so, feared, for in the contest of ideas the truth is born. The main thing is not to allow the contest of ideologies to spill over into an arena where there can be no victors.

Which ideology is the better? Which has the strongest appeal? Which accords most with the aspirations of the peoples, the demands of the epoch? The right to answer these questions must rest with the peoples, with history. This is the course indicated by the new political thinking, which embodies the experience accumulated by mankind over the centuries.

Clearly, the ideology that can help people better to understand the modern world, its needs and problems has more chance of success. The ideology which, dedicated to the service of humanism, peace and universal human ideals, is able to win the support of the best in nations and peoples. The ideology which will help to uplift men's minds and spirit, to shape a planet-wide consciousness in a united, integral world. ■



Drawing by Nikolai Shcherbakov

Travellers on the road

From our special correspondent
Galina Sidorova

"The police are looking for you," one of the Americans informed me, eyeing me curiously, almost as soon as we entered Des Moines, Iowa. Shortly afterwards the imposing figure of a policeman with a megaphone stepped out of the crowd of locals. My name reverberated across the countryside.

After a brief greeting and having made sure that I was I, the policeman handed me a package addressed to the Police Department of Des Moines. It bore the inscription: Sidorova, Soviet-American Walk. The sender was All LaGrange, Davenport Police Department. Inside were books, several tapes with Mid-Western music and some posters.

A few days before the recepit of the package that had reverberated through the streets of Des Moines, All LaGrange had played host to the Soviet visitors in his comfortable home on Fillmore Street.

Bullets as a memento

But first about my friendship with the Iowa police. It all began two years ago in Davenport. During one of my trips I had unexpectedly got to know two traffic policemen, David Struckman and Julio Serrano. We got to talking and asked each other about our respective countries. It was the first time the two officers had seen someone from the Soviet Union. We exchanged souvenirs. I gave them badges, and received in return bullets from the heavy guns they carried – being on duty they had nothing else to offer.

Then I learned that the principal sponsor of our present stay in Davenport was the local police association. That item of news brought me and many other participants of the Walk straight to the Police Department. And there the first people I encountered were my disarmed friends of two years ago – David and Julio. Their smiling welcoming faces made me think that while such men were on traffic duty in Iowa no one would ignore such road signs as "Don't even think of exceeding 55 miles!"

That day I made another friend in the department, All LaGrange. He's worked in the police force for 15 years. Before that he served in the army, including two years as a private in Vietnam. He was demobilized in 1972, and worked his way through college. That is why, as he himself admitted, he didn't do particularly well. Then he trained as a policeman. What does his job in the force mean to him? He replied: first of all it allows me to help people who've come up against misfortune. "I like people," he added, "and I'm glad when I can do something for them." It's not often that All has to answer such questions. By nature he is shy and taciturn.

"What are your duties as a police officer?"

"Very varied. On TV they look much more interesting – chases, feats and shooting at night. Real life is more humdrum. Usually I have to deal with petty theft, burglaries, family conflicts."

"And are there many such conflicts?"

"Unfortunately, yes. As for crime, we have much less than in the big cities."

"And do you often have to use your gun?"

"No," All takes out his ominous toy, which he has to carry even when not on duty. "There's only been one case. A terrific fight began in the street. I tried to break it up. Then somebody took out a knife and lunged at me. I pulled the trigger and the bullet hit the man in the leg. He was a black. They wanted to take me to court for self overreaction and for racism. All the evidence was against me. But I was saved, strange as it may sound, by the injured black, who said I had been defending myself."

"I've heard a lot about police brutaslity. How well-founded is that reputation?"

"It does happen that someone exceeds his powers. Racial problems also exist – especially in the big cities. In general there is plenty of mistrust between whites and blacks. The problem goes back for too long and runs too deep. And there are different kinds of people in the police force. Incidentally, it costs 50 dollars to insult or beast up a police officer in Iowa. Not much of a fine. Some of my colleagues feel like taking preventive measures. Although in our state cases of deliberate police violence are rare."

"And what is the community's attitude to the police?"

"It differs. Here it is good, in big cities it is worse."

His words were substantiated by a small detail – in Iowa the police are also known as peace officers.

How do the La Granges live? All's wife Shumiao was born in Taiwan. A gentle, pleasant woman, busy looking after her guests, she works at the John Deer factory which produces building equipment. Their children Lisa (17) and David (15) will soon have to think about college. Their parents are racking their brains about how to pay for their tuition. All sometimes makes a little bit on the side, guarding the hotel, or at college sports events. A policeman's salary in Iowa ranges from 20-30 thousand dollars a year – that is

For the previous instalments see our Nos 28 and 31

near to the lower earnings of middle-class Americans. All is not ambitious. When he was offered the post of police chief, he turned it down – far too troublesome. But he does have money worries. The mortgage on the house hasn't been fully paid. The family bought it ten years ago for 70 thousand dollars, plus an additional 20,000 for subsequent repairs. By Iowa standards, that's not too much, but it's still quite a lot. They also have to save for the future. The pension will be about half All's present salary. All likes to spend the evenings at home. The usual working hours in Iowa are from 7 a.m. to 3 p.m. Their free time the LaGranges prefer to spend out in the open – fishing or hunting.

"What do you prize most in life?"

"My family. I still have the hope that peace will prevail, that our society will achieve its full potential."

"I've always regarded the police as belonging to a fairly conservative section of the population. Why did your police association decide to finance the Soviet-American Walk's stopover in Davenport?"

"You're right about conservatism. In the Mid-West in general we are conservative in our views, likes, dislikes, and habits. To tell the truth, I'm no less surprised than you by the energetic support for the Walk, not only by the police, but by civil servants, farmers, local politicians, the most different kind of people and organizations that are usually conservative in their outlook. Incidentally, did you notice how many police officers who were not on duty turned out to meet the participants in the Walk? That I think indicates a shift in their mentality. They are beginning to take an interest in what is happening outside their usual limited world. They are beginning to think about the danger of existing arms, about an accident that could lead to the irreparable. I feel how receptive the people around me are becoming to the idea of mutual dependence, to what is happening between our governments.

"Something else also disturbs me. Even if the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. destroy all nuclear weapons, we would still be able to find many other ways of killing one another. That's why I find it so important to do what you are doing now – to build up trust.

"Personally I learned a lot when I was in Vietnam: people are the same everywhere, the same problems, the same hurts. Americans are used to looking down on other people. Now it's clearly time we got rid of that complex."

All told me that before we were due, he sent out invitations to a meal with the Soviet guests. In his garden tables were put up and some 70 people gathered – many of them had never had any contact with the LaGranges, regarding them as too liberal. "You have brought me my neighbours," All said, greatly moved and very happy.

We talked to him about lots of things – values in life, what we like and dislike.

"I've heard people speak a lot about the spirit of the Mid-West. What does it mean to you?

"I think that the spirit of the Mid-West lives on to this day. It is founded on mutual help, a good friendly family, industriousness, the habit of working hard. Having been through many trials – economic troubles, drugs, alcoholism, divorce and the aftermath of Vietnam, this spirit may not seem so pronounced now. But it lives on and today is our hope for the future.

The peace state

Probably it is that Mid-West spirit that makes Iowa and its people so different. We felt it especially this summer on the roads. The draught had covered them with dust and melted the surface. Farmers passing each other in their vans and cars would smile and joke. They have not succumbed to depression, though they know for sure that many of the fruits of their labour will share the fate of the lifeless grass along the roadside, and that means their prosperity will suffer. Their symbols of hope are the corn fields that still stand green despite the heat.

Russell Yoder, a 70-year-old farmer, was one of those who walked across Iowa with us. His boundless optimism and staunchness was also something of a symbol and example for us all.

His farm is not far from the small town of Kalona where he was born. He has 170 acres of land and leases another 140 acres. The Yoders grow corn, soya beans, and barley, and keep pigs. The whole family works on the farm – no hired labour, too expensive. He has three daughters and two sons. All of them have been to college and studied agriculture.

At the farm we met the youngest son – Sherwood. While his father spent 10 days with our walk, he ran the farm.

"We get up at 6.30, he told us, and work until nine in the evening. No days off. We have three tractors. We manage. A week's holiday a year – no more."

We watched him coping with the pigs – a thousand of them. Naturally everything is mechanized. But you can't deny his good management either. Everything, down to the last detail, is taken care of.

"What keeps you here on the land?"

"Habit. I've been used to it since I was a child. At first I enjoyed driving the tractor and anything to do with machines. Then I studied, got an education. Of course, there aren't many young farmers around. Small farms go bankrupt. And it is becoming increasingly hard to set up on your own..." Yoder senior looked around his possessions critically and shook his head: the insurance would only cover the cost of seeds and fertilizer.

Watching from the side, I nevertheless risked asking him:

"Last year you took part in the Soviet-American Leningrad-to-Moscow Walk. Now you are inspiring us by your example in arid Iowa. I know how hard it is for you to leave your farm even for a day. So why did you do it?"

"You can't answer that in one sentence. For the sake of my grandchildren. For the sake of my family. For my own sake. When I learned that a Walk was being prepared in the Soviet Union I told my family about it. And when we were all together I said I would like to go to the Soviet Union, see what the Russians are really like, and try and understand why we have so many problems with them. We discussed it. My sons decided to let me go. It was an unforgettable journey, I was amazed by the way ordinary normal Russians treated us Americans. When I returned I spoke a lot about my impressions. And of course I wanted to show you my home state myself."

"Why do you think we were so warmly and sincerely welcomed in Iowa of all places? People here have so many problems."

"We have lived on this land for many years. It feeds us, gives us strength or robs us of it. People here are wiser, calmer, more sensible and peaceful, I'd say. The rhythm of our life, despite our constant work, is not as frantic as in the big cities on the coast. And so we deliberate – why is such and such a thing happening? Why could our land be in danger and where would it come from? Of course it is no secret that 25 per cent of Iowa's farm output is earmarked for export. We understand that we depend not only on the weather, but on whether the government in Washington will sell our produce, to the Soviet Union among other plans. In other words, we follow events closely, even such seemingly distant ones as in the highest political echelons in Washington and Moscow. And of course we don't want to miss anything on our own roads, miss the chance of meeting real Russians who've come from across the ocean."

Even the Amishes, who as a rule do not allow outsiders in, expressed the desire to meet us. It's true. I suspect we owe this to our friend Russell. The community is not far from his farm. Its way of life, at a first glance, seems totally incompatible with the American one. For the most part

they are Americans of German origin – in some respects something like the Russian Old Believers. They have lived for a long time in Iowa and several neighbouring states. They believe that technical progress brought the greatest evil to mankind and corrupted it, and so they reject it totally. Good-natured and quiet, they believe work to be the main thing in life. They work their fields with horse and plough, and build their homes from logs and wood, without the use of any machinery. They refuse to recognize electricity or other extravagances of civilization. Food is prepared in special ovens. They dress as people did at the beginning of the century. Men grow beards after marriage, and they wear hats, black braces instead of a belt. Women wear rough black stockings and shawls. They have their own schools and church.

The Governor

The young (41 years old) and energetic Governor has held that post for six years. He was born in Iowa City, and went to law school. He leaves the impression of a real Iowan – a man with deep roots in the soil.

"Is it hard being a Governor?"

"Yes. Practically no time left for one's own home and family. But I like it. I wouldn't leave this place for Washington. If possible I'll stand for a third term. The state laws allow it."

We sat talking at a long wooden table on a lawn in the town of West Liberty, quickly eating boiled corn and grilled pork.

Meanwhile an endless line of town people were making their way to the Governor to shake his hand and say a few words – an essential part of political life in the American states. The fathers of the town and the Governor are wearing funny hats – also part of the political tradition.

Between handshakes we talked with the Governor about the state's problems – the draught, farm subsidies, and his recent trip to Moscow and Stavropol. For the first time in Soviet-American relations, twinned regions, not merely twinned towns are to be set up.

Terry Branstad said that soon Iowa and the Stavropol Territory would be linked by economic, trade and education agreements.

The Governor was pleased with the results of the Soviet-American summits and hopes for the positive development in relations between our two countries under the new President.

"Many people here," he said, "are interested in destroying the old stereotypes, breaking down the barriers of misunderstanding between Americans and the Soviet people. I like such initiatives as your Walk." Terry Branstad had told me that several hours earlier, when he came especially to welcome us to the small town with a name so close to the hearts of the Soviet participants – Moscow. It was his first visit to Moscow, Iowa. He has already been twice to Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Iowa City – San Francisco – Moscow

EXCLUSIVE FOR NEW TIMES

What Smith thinks of Ivanov

It is always important to know how others see you. The recent Party conference, a milestone in the life of this country, is still being commented upon and analyzed in the United States. It is only natural that American experts should interpret the process of perestroika in terms of their own political traditions; some of their conclusions and opinions may, therefore, seem unexpected or even unacceptable to the Soviet reader. Nonetheless, awareness of the way they see our perestroika is essential to us: after all, this is the political reality on which the relationships between our two countries depend.

We follow with an interview given to Edgar Cheporov, an APN correspondent in the United States, by Professor **Jonathan Sanders** of Columbia University's Harriman Institute for Advanced Studies. He is author of many works on both the history of the U.S.S.R. and our current policy, as well as being a consultant on Soviet affairs to CBS Television.

Q. In the West, the U.S. included, our Party conference has often been referred to as „four days that shook the world." This phrase is obviously intended to evoke certain associations, isn't it?

A. It is. In my view, the 19th Party conference was a turning point in Soviet history. I would compare its purport with that of the October Revolution. We have witnessed an obvious advance in your political awareness. The most important thing about the conference was, I think, the atmosphere of openness and frankness that prevailed at it. This atmosphere cannot but have an effect on the future of perestroika. The argument between Yegor Ligachev and Boris Yeltsin, the speeches by Leonid Abalkin and those who opposed his position were all in the interests of perestroika.

Q. You are speaking of the possibility of airing different points of view, but the conference went further than that, reaching consensus on the principal issues...

A. There is no doubt about that; but today's consensus is different and creative. It is not to be compared with the former "unanimity." This is precisely why pluralism is assuming special importance today. What matters is that people now know: the process of democratization has begun, and new approaches are a reality.

Q. The conference reflected a new level of democratic development in Soviet society. What does this level manifest itself in, to your mind?

A. In the mature conduct by your society of its domestic and international affairs. Previously, in Stalin's day, and for a long time afterwards, people were afraid of everything. Now this fear is dying, almost dead. When Ronald Reagan and Mikhail Gorbachev came out onto Red Square together, that was the funeral of the cold war. The Party conference has buried the legacy of Stalinism, the legacy of the period of stagnation.

So we can say that Stalinism is dead and buried. This is evidenced by the hitherto inconceivable democracy of the discussions at the Party conference. The legacy of stagnation is still alive.

Q. One of the slogans of the conference was the necessity to abandon heavy-handed administrative methods. How far have we advanced towards this goal, do you think?

A. The old methods are definitely out, but new methods have a hard time establishing themselves. In the economy, people are being given a chance to do business on their own, and the peasants' alienation from the land has been denounced as inadmissible. The idea of the current experiment is to find alternative answers to complex questions. The general line, in the old sense, is a thing of the past. Society is taking a different approach to the solution of its problems, and trying various methods of coping with them. The notion that what's good for a peasant in, say, Ryazan, won't do for Abakan or Astrakhan, has lost its novelty. With regard to the socialist countries, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed that there are many ways of attaining socialist ideals.

Q. It was pointed out at the conference that the stalling mechanism is very real and is not to be disregarded. Hence the task of dismantling this mechanism. How would you comment on the methods the U.S.S.R. is using to do so?

A. The Conference has assigned this function to the Soviets. The revival of the slogan "All power to the Soviets!" under the new conditions and its implementation, is bound to counteract stalling.

Gorbachev's ideas of the reduction of the Party apparatus is very creative and bold approach. If realized it constitutes a real break with the past. Empowering local Soviets has great potential, although the thorough-goingness of this reform is undercut by the proposal to merge the function of local Party first secretaries with that of local chairmen of the Soviets. It seems that the conference accepted it, not because it understood it or was in favour of it, although clearly all preferred the preservation of traditional Party power that it could promise over the democratization that transferring all power to the Soviets poses, but because it gave the impression of confidence in Gorbachev.

Perestroika calls for, and is creating, I think, a rank-and-file and leaders of a new type. They are not supposed to wait for instructions but to act on their own. Initiative is not to be punishable. It is only in these conditions that perestroika will win. Incidentally, during the summit President Reagan spoke in more or less the same vein. Although I've never been an admirer of his and object to many aspects of his policy, I must say that parts of his Moscow University speech were brilliant. He justly stressed the importance of creative, liberating effort and urged young people to embark upon this difficult but rewarding path.

You can't create a "socialism with a human face," as Mikhail Gorbachev put it, without a free and creative approach to the restructuring of political, economic and public life in the U.S.S.R. This will not affect the socialist principles your society rests upon. On the contrary, there will be more socialism, as an apt phrase current in your country goes. This will be a rational and real socialism, the sort of socialism Karl Marx had in mind. It was probably no accident that Marx did not furnish any "hard and fast" definitions of the new system. He spoke of freedom of choice, leisure, the development of the individual. This is precisely the Marxism Mikhail Gorbachev proceeds from.

Q. What would you say about the results of the conference?

A. Neither the comparative "liberals," nor "conservatives" "won" at the 19th Party conference. Neither enjoyed great victories, neither suffered great defeats. Moderates, those who want reforms, perestroika without genuine glasnost and democratization, those who want reform by decree from on high, made a very strong showing. Those comfortable with the heavy-handed administrative methods implemented under Stalin and continued in modified ways by his heirs lost considerably. Those embracing the great falsification perpetrated on the Soviet people by Stalinist non-truth tellers suffered great defeats. Those who preferred to throw truth down a dark memory hole, rather than recognize that the great moments of Stalin's reign – industrialization and victory over nazi Germany – were built over the mass burial holes of millions of Stalin's innocent victims, including many good thoughtful Party members, lost mightily.

Gorbachev proved to be the real winner. He won because he demonstrated adroit political skills, the ability to utilize his considerable diplomatic talent to draw the "liberals" and the "moderates" towards each other. Because he acted as an effective arbitrator his standing increased. Gorbachev showed himself to be a thoroughly modern Marxist. His reforms are revolutionary. The conference clearly gave Gorbachev a mandate to lead the Party. However, it was a mandate with important footnotes, most importantly one that tells him of the pressing need to give greater piority to reversing the deterioration of living standards, of putting more meat on the table, of providing more consumer goods. Rationing still exists, prices have risen, there are shortages. It reminded Gorbachev that the working class as well as the intelligentsia knows that "you can't eat ideas." But these footnotes do not detract from Gorbachev's victory. Gorbachev was the central figure of the conference; he showed himself to be a democratic leader letting many different views be heard. He showed no annoyance. He guides the Party into a new era, into the turbulent waters of a new political culture. His concluding speech made an extraordinary impact. He called for consolidation, for a joint effort towards perestroika.

Q. While the conference was in session, you were in Moscow as a consultant to CBS Television. What do you think of the standard of glasnost that manifested itself during the debates? Under what conditions did Western newsmen work?

A. There were at least two significant conferences – one "on the air," the other "on the ground." The conference that was shown on Vremya provided an insight into glasnost in action, gave the "liberals" a victory and significantly changed political culture.

The "liberals" have made a psychological breakthrough and can now rally. The corruption, ineffectiveness, parasitism of the "Brezhnev era" are disapproved of even by the present "conservatives" who, nevertheless, want order imposed from above, who fear genuine democratization and real glasnost. Each had their moments of public expression thanks to television.

However, this beautiful flight stopped short of soaring to world standards because officials barred impartial observers from the world press. Their exclusion from the hall was a symptom of the continued fear of the press, of stereotyped thinking.

The Party conference became superimposed, so to say, on the events of the recent summit. The conference reaffirmed and imparted still greater depth to the ideas voiced at the summit. People in the West appreciated this. Had Western correspondents been granted more favourable treatment, the coverage of the conference would have been fuller, and its influence on the world still greater. As a scholar concerned with Soviet problems, and a TV company consultant, I would certainly have preferred to watch the conference at first hand, not only through the medium of the Vremya programme.

Nevertheless, our American audience did follow its progress. Why were Americans interested? John Smith, our American Ivanov, is not very well versed in the history of the U.S.S.R., and has a rather vague idea of the present there. But now he has woken up to the falsity of the old anti-Soviet clichés. He has come to realize that George Orwell's world is not the world of the Soviet Union. For our Smith all this means an end to the cold war. It matters a lot to him that Ivan Ivanov has put paid to Stalinism, democratizing his society and stimulating its economic growth. Smith finds it easier, more interesting and more promising to deal with that kind of Ivanov, who is no longer to be feared, and who invites cooperation. ■

People and bullets

How to untie the Ulster knot? Communists provide the answer.

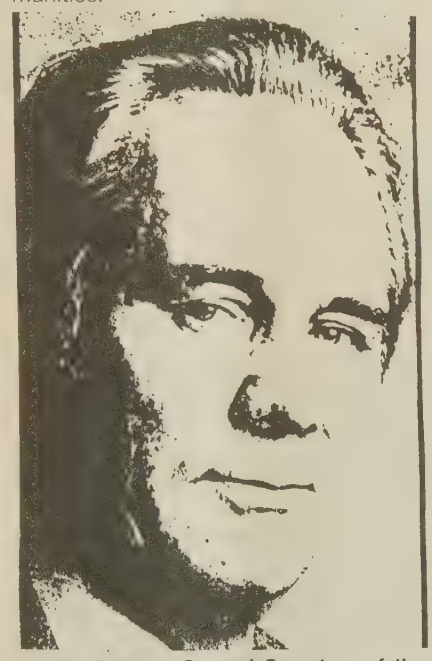
One day when I and my constant companion Billy Bittles were approaching the headquarters of the Irish Communists in Belfast, we found the door not locked, but on the latch. 20-year-old Billy who, though young, has had plenty of experience, clucked and said anxiously: "You can't do such things in this city, it could lead to..." Yet there were people in the rooms. A member of staff was working at an electric typewriter to type an article for the next issue of the party weekly Unity. One of the volunteer distributors was just receiving a new batch of magazines, and, apparently, it was he who had not shut the door properly. The medium-sized room was packed with newspapers, leaflets, posters and other Communist Party publications. The postman brought the latest batch of mail, among which was a copy of New Times in English. The lady who had been typing immediately picked it up and started reading.

James Stewart, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland, invited us into the neighbouring rooms, which he used as his office. I noticed books, pamphlets, gifts from delegations of fraternal communist parties. The grey-haired leader of the Irish Communists spoke loudly, clearly and left no sentence unfinished. One sensed that it was a style derived from participation in numerous discussions and speeches at meetings.

In Westminster's interests

"The situation in Ulster is again tense. In your opinion, what is the reason for this?" was my first question.

"Analyzing the present crisis, one can see that actually tension has been on the increase throughout the past 20 years. Of course, far from everything is visible to the eye, but one thing is clear; the latest flare-up is a sign of the crisis of British imperialism on Irish soil. At the beginning of the century British imperialists resorted to a variety of methods in their attempts to crush the national-liberation movement in Ireland. But they were never entirely successful. What they did succeed in doing was splitting the country and imposing this division on us by creating Northern Ireland and what later became known as the Irish Republic. It was not so much a partition of Ireland, as a division of its people, a split primarily of the working class, which was accompanied by increased strife between the two communities.



James Stewart, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland.

The northern part of Ireland is in effect a colonial dependency of the United Kingdom. That is manifested both in the economic and political spheres. Westminster has the last say and its interests have priority. Here in the north of Ireland this policy is reinforced by discrimination in jobs and housing against those who favour a single republic. Political discrimination also exists. For instance, in areas like Derry, where the majority of voters favour a united republic, as a result of arbitrary changes in the constituency boundaries the majority has passed into the hands of the pro-unionists (who favour union with Britain – **V.Z.**). As a result, ever since Northern Ireland appeared on the map, special laws have been consistently passed allowing detention without trial, and giving the unionists additional opportunities to discriminate against their political opponents. And they are exploiting the strife between the Catholic and Protestant communities to consolidate their own political position."

"Somewhere at the beginning of the sixties a new development appeared in the situation..."

"Yes. After the second world war when you routed the nazis, the national liberation movement mounted rapidly the world over, and British imperialism, with its reduced territories, was going through a crisis. To all that one should add that monopoly capital had begun its penetration in Northern Ireland, ousting local business. The atmosphere grew increasingly tense... In the absence of basic democratic rights, the movement for civil rights gained momentum. The Unionists responded with repression. Their actions exacerbated the split between the two communities. At the beginning of the seventies the Republicans (supporters of a single united Ireland – **V.Z.**) resorted to methods of armed struggle. That was when the Provisional IRA was formed. I repeat, that was the response to the extremely harsh repressions by the Unionist authorities and the British government, which had sent its troops to the region. That only confirms that the root of the evil lies in British imperialism, in British rule over the North and the methods used. The crux of the problem is that the Irish people are refused the right to self-determination."

The armed struggle boomerang

"A great deal is being said about the methods of the armed struggle. What would you say about them?"

"Our party's position on that issue has always been absolutely clear-cut. We oppose such methods. Not from the moral standpoint, but because the armed struggle being waged by the Provisional IRA today prevents unity among the working people, a unity that is essential to fight the imperialist forces... The British soldiers who lost their lives here returned to their homes in coffins. Many of them were themselves of working class origin. That posed new problems.

"Later London began to depend on paramilitary police units equipped with the latest weapons. They also used the Ulster Defence Regiment (UDR), which recruits local people – mostly Protestants, but is officered by British soldiers and under British army control. So when the Provisional IRA attacks the police or the UDR, the local Protestants see it as an attack on them all. That at times played into the hands of British imperialism. That is why we declare that armed resistance

Concluded. See beginning in Nos 16, 21, 24.

is counterproductive. It weakens the struggle of the masses and robs the civil rights movement of its political colouring. It also allows the British authorities to step up repressions under the pretext of combating what they call terrorism.

"As a result we have the Emergency Provisions Act, we have the Prevention of Terrorism Act. In accordance with these acts people who are considered U.K. citizens can be deported from Britain. As can inhabitants of the Irish Republic. All this poses a threat to all working people in Britain, since the authorities can extend the system of internal exile to all hostile-minded people."

"An Anglo-Irish agreement providing for the possibility of 'consultations' between London and Dublin on Ulster was signed in November 1985. Sufficient time has elapsed since then for its true aims to have become apparent..."

"In that agreement the sovereign Irish government for the first time recognized the right of Great Britain to control Northern Ireland, its right to divide the country. That is an immense step backwards, since the agreement provides a cover for Britain's imperial goal: to intensify control not only over the six counties, but over the whole island. It is also linked to EEC activities... And if one takes a closer look one sees the connection with NATO: Ireland may be a small island, but it is of immense strategic importance for the North Atlantic bloc. That's why they don't want Ireland to become a fully non-aligned country with a socialist orientation. Those are the aims pursued by the Anglo-Irish Agreement. But with its help it proved possible to mislead for the most part people with nationalist views, and arouse their hopes that the agreement brings closer the dream of a united Ireland. Yet a united Ireland without independence is just as senseless as a divided Ireland.

"The Unionists, on the other hand, saw the agreement as an act of betrayal. Not because their leaders believed that eventually it would lead to the unification of the island, but because they felt that their role as partners of British imperialism was being handed over to the Nationalists. They rebelled against this, and there were fierce flare-ups in which members of the right-wing paramilitary formations took part. But what was clear to everyone was that what London was telling a sovereign state by the agreement was: 'Don't you interfere into what we are doing!' And it has been forced to heed this warning. Moreover, a senior official in the Irish Republic recently reaffirmed that his country would abide by the agreement. Yet the movement among the people for its annulment is mounting. The Communist Party regards the agreement as an imperialist conspiracy and would very much like to see it rejected and more productive steps taken."

Colourful posters calling for an armed struggle are part and parcel of the Belfast street scene.

"We are following a different road"

"What do the Communists suggest?"

"Our aim is to achieve an end to all forms of violence, and get all anti-democratic laws declared null and void. We want to see British soldiers returned to their barracks and then all troops withdrawn from the country. We oppose all secret agreements and favour the introduction of generally accepted norms of criminal law. We want the British parliament to adopt a Declaration of Intent – that by a certain date all British military, political and economic interference in the affairs of Ireland will be stopped. So that the people of our country, north and south alike, would be able to decide on the political structures best suited to their interests."

"What concrete steps are possible?"

"The setting up of an all-Ireland parliament, elections to which would be held throughout the island. As well as the setting up of an Assembly or parliament for the north over the transition period, so that people here would not feel they had been overlooked or bypassed. Such a

No time to clear away cars burned during the unrest.

body could help resolve a number of local problems."

"But the problem of the unity of the working people remains?"

"In the present situation this is an extremely difficult problem, since Britain is making a special effort to split and weaken the working class movement. Nevertheless, even though Ireland is partitioned and the working people are divided into two communities, we seek some very promising prospects. For instance the trade unions. They operate on an all-Ireland basis under the leadership of the Irish Trade Unions Congress. There are no separate unions for Catholics and others for Protestants. Their basis is common work interests, not religion. That provides a good foundation for further action. Although, of course, we do not feel it to be a simple problem that can easily be resolved. The enemies of the working people are constantly trying to split the unions. Nor can we count on the help of the national bourgeoisie in solving Ireland's problems. The last word can only come from the working man..."

"And what about the working people in Britain? What is their attitude?"

"They don't know the true state of affairs on the island. They are influenced by the propaganda of the mass media. They do not appreciate the basic problems, nor the responsibility of their government for the present situation in Ireland. They do not sense the importance of an alliance between the working class movement in Ireland and in Britain for a struggle against the common enemy – British imperialism. I regard it as a very important objective to make the working people in Britain aware of this importance."

"So, to sum up..."

"We state emphatically: the imperialist yoke cannot be thrown off for as long as the working class is as disunited as it is today. Discrimination against the Catholic minority is poisoning the minds of the working people. Protestant workers have to change a great deal in their outlook and attitude... One of our tragedies was the beginning of the armed struggle. Had we been able to make workeres understand the strength that lies in class organization, we would not be facing the difficulties that confront us today, and we would have advanced much closer to our final goal. Of course I can understand why people here, especially the young, choose the wrong road – oppression and discrimination push them on to it. But remember what Lenin said when his brother was executed: 'We shall take a different path.' And so we are taking a different path..."

I thanked James Stewart for the interview. And as I left I slammed the front door properly. Although the Communists are regarded as moderates, Belfast remains Belfast. I felt that once again on the morning of my departure. In the very centre, near the City Hall, there is a big department store. One of the windows, I noticed, had a hole left by a bullet, though the window pane itself had not cracked, as the quality of the glass is good. Probably, replacing the whole pane cost too much. I was looking at the hole when I heard a noise. Turning, I saw an armoured car at the traffic lights with two soldiers aboard. They stood full height, visible from their metal box from the chest up. The automatic rifles in their hands swept the square. I took out my camera. Like a magnet its tele-lens attracted the rifle of one of the soldiers. Probably out of habit I pressed the button. The two soldiers immediately ducked inside. I got a good photograph. It was published in the 16th issue of the magazine together with the first part of my travel notes. But that second I was in line of fire is something I'll remember for a long time. People in Ulster live with that feeling for years, even decades. And no one knows when the rifle will go off.

Vladimir Zhitomirsky
our special correspondent
BELFAST– MOSCOW
Photos by author and from the weekly Unity (Belfast)

Dear Reader,

Our magazine is going to gain in bulk with the issue No 33: it will offer you 48 pages to read instead of 32 today.

This will enable us to give you more information on perestroika, the process of democratization in the Soviet Union, and to provide a wider and deeper coverage of world affairs.

Please make sure that your subscription does not expire in 1988. We'll be happy to see you among our regular subscribers in the coming year too.

We shall appreciate if you show a copy of our magazine to your colleagues, friends and acquaintances. They might be interested and take out subscriptions which are readily available from any V/O Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga's dealer in your country.

The Editors

OBSERVER'S VIEW

From words to actions

Alexander Guber

The recent Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee discussed ways of implementing the resolutions of the 19th Party conference. Obviously, it's high time all the words about perestroika uttered over the past three years were translated into action. As it happens, however, tangible changes for the better are occurring in our mentality, in politics, public life, the economy even – but not in our mundane day-to-day reality. The choice and prices of goods offered for sale, the situation in the services sphere and public transport remain largely unchanged... However, the public has come to make higher demands on the quality of life; the pure air of freedom has encouraged our people to "square their shoulders" and demand to be treated properly by quarters at whose hands they have long been accustomed to suffering humiliation.

Frankly, the quality of our everyday life, which is showing no marked signs of improvement, could overshadow – and already does for many – the undoubted achievements of perestroika. Such is life. For a man who has nowhere to live, an apartment is what he covets most. All I want is a flat, he tells himself, but this is self-deception. As soon as his dream comes true, he starts thinking of furniture, then of a weekend place in the country, and so on. This puts a strain on our trading network: what the older generation has put up with, their children – and even less their grandchildren – won't.

That was why the Plenary Meeting gave in-depth discussion both to the strategic problems of perestroika, the solution of which will take many years, and the pressing needs of everyday life which have to be attended to without delay. When food and consumer goods are in abundance, when shopping ceases to be an ordeal, when the housing problem has been solved and the good things of life have at last become commonplace, the freedom we have achieved will be fuller and more tangilbe to each of us.

It is gratifying that the very approach to these problems is taking on an entirely new quality. Previously, when the economy came up against a serious problem, a ministry, a state committee or something of the sort was set up to deal with it, with the capital investment in the given field inevitably soaring. There's no denying that certain results have been achieved in this way. Recall the new lands, West Siberian oil, and so on. But those were temporary and local achievements. Because "measures to strengthen the material base in the countryside were not backed up by corresponding efforts to change the economic relationships in the countryside," as Mikhail Gorbachev put it at the Plenary Meeting.

I recall the envy with which I inspected a farm belonging to the Hungarian cooperative, "The Blue Danube." It came to me as a shocking surprise that the dramatic rise in crop, meat, and milk yields had come not from techniques and technology but from production relations. Our Hungarian friends have shown what our collective farms could be like if all the principles underlying them were adhered to. We have laid down the principles, but never observed them, never even tried to. Now the Hungarians have taken them seriously and are aspiring to achieve Europe's highest standards in this respect.

Economic independence rent and family contract are now the talk of the nation. But things are moving inexcusably slowly and cautiously. When everyone, including managers at all levels, starts promoting rather than retarding all that makes a peasant a master of his land rather than a hired hand, we shall bring in "Hungarian harvests" even in "precarious" farming areas.

Reforms in the economy and the political system should go hand in hand – it is only in these circumstances that they will produce results. The Party is beginning with itself. Already the current election campaign is to proceed in a new way – in content rather than in form. After all, previously the secretaries of major Party committees were formally elected, but in fact appointed from above. Now candidates are being put forward democratically. There will be as many of them as the Communists think fit.

Hired workers take control

Before this year is out, the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and local Party organizations will be reorganized and substantially cut. What is to become of the workers released from the Party apparatus? After all, Party apparatus has come to be a concentration of the most vigorous and competent cadre, capable of carrying the people with them. This does not mean that all Party workers are like this, but on the whole they are more capable than those employed in the apparatus of the Soviets. A few years ago I was told in Georgia that at this crucial juncture all power in the republic was to be taken over by the Party bodies, who were to shoulder all responsibility, and that other organizations so far lacked personnel of such calibre. Now the Party bodies can yield part of their personnel to the Soviets, public organizations and enterprises. The Party's authority depends largely on how they perform in their new capacity. Those accustomed to ordering people about in the Party apparatus will find it hard going.

The same goes for journalists. They are expected not to laud glasnost but to correct its weak points, and show professional skill, boldness and competence if they are to give a balanced and truthful coverage to the progress and practical record of perestroika.

Each of us must realize that glasnost, which comes so hard to our society, is not just a campaign, a chance to speak out at the top of one's voice, but normal socialist practice of no less importance to perestroika than the radical economic reform and democratization. The one is unthinkable without the other.

In the beginning was the word. And now we must match our actions to suit our words.

Those devious generalities

Valery Chichkanov,
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The 19th National CPSU Conference raised the issue of a price reform. I would like to express a number of ideas about the nature of that reform

Trying to deal with the contradictions of social development without dealing with their causes is quite hopeless. It is like trying to treat the symptoms of a disease rather than the disease itself; but in real life that is very often forgotten. At times it is exceedingly difficult to tell causes from effects. As Lenin pointed out, having failed to resolve the general problems we shall be constantly returning to them in a bid to solve partial ones.

In order to make sure that the proposed measures to reform consumer goods prices lead to the desired results, we must gain a profound insight into the roots of the problems. Why is it that the prices of dairy products, meat, and bread are at the focus of special attention? A great deal is being said and written about them. Is that a sign of the development of democratic principles in our society? Or perhaps it is a response to the objective economic processes underway in it? We must arrive at correct answers to these questions, because they are of crucial importance in defining the prospects for our development.

The idea of reviewing retail prices, and in particular the prices of foodstuffs, was voiced for the first time by Academician Tatiana Zaslavskaya in her studies of the problem of social justice in our society.

The need to reform pricing policy is justified in the following way from the point of view of ensuring social justice. First, state subsidies for the prices of foodstuffs, and especially meat, lead to a situation where the greater part of these foodstuffs is redistributed in favour of high income groups who consume more of them. Second, the uneven distribution of foodstuffs in the country leads to an uneven geographical distribution of state subsidies. Those who support that point of view say that an average Muscovite who consumes 100 kg of meat a year is 300 rubles richer in annual terms than a resident of a region where no meat is available in state-run stores.

In order to assess these arguments critically, one must have at least a general idea of how the present mechanism of state subsidies works.

Subsidies cover commodities whose production costs are higher than their retail prices. Subsidies are drawn from the high prices paid for other goods, as losses incurred in selling one kind of commodity are made up for by selling other kinds at higher prices. Among these other kinds of commodity are those considered to be non-essentials such as liquor, tobacco, luxury items, and imported clothing, footwear, furniture, etc.

People in high income groups buy both kinds of goods. In other words, goods that are the source of price subsidies are purchased by that category of buyers, although this does not apply to liquor and wines. There is every reason to argue therefore against the view that city residents and those who live in areas amply supplied with goods are in a better position. But on the other hand, there is every reason to agree with those who say that goods and foodstuffs that are in short supply must be more evenly distributed around the country and that changing pricing levels is not a way out.

Attempts to use arguments in favour of social justice to substantiate the reform of consumer goods prices are flawed, because the principle on which they rely is rooted in the notion of levelling distribution. According to this theory, the present situation is unsatisfactory largely because it benefits those whose incomes are above average. Material incentives are now considered a crucial element in the economic mechanism and the idea is to use them as best we can. This makes attempts to ensure social justice through levelling seem all the stranger.

I do not want to dwell on the history of the problem in this brief analysis of pricing, but it would appear to be only proper to consider fundamental aspects of it. The present pricing situation is clearly abnormal, because we overpay for one category of goods while underpaying for another. It is a legacy from the profound flaws that were peculiar to our economic mechanism in the past, or are still peculiar to it to some extent now, and they above all concern our pay system.

A senior manager at the Tire Production Association in the city of Omsk, Siberia, addressed the 8th National Conference of Factory Directors to define the situation in very clear terms. He pointed out that the results of the work of individual collectives and their pay **DO NOT TEND IN THE SAME DIRECTION.** The association is ahead of the 17 similar enterprises whose performance he discussed in all the basic indices, that is, the service life of the tires it makes, productivity, the production costs, but in terms of average wages it holds the penultimate place in the industry, even though its employees are entitled to a regional bonus.

That situation appears to be typical. It is explained by the fact that the drive to fulfil the plan at any cost results in a disproportionate growth of pay. Since pay could and unfortunately still can grow regardless of the results of the work and, indeed, even if they decline, the demand at the present level of prices exceeds the supply of goods to the market.

One result of the uncontrolled and unbalanced growth of pay has been the rapid emergence of the so-called "delayed demand," that is a situation when too much cash chares too few goods.

By the middle of this year, private accounts in savings banks had reached 280 billion rubles. The total amount of money stashed away in piggy banks is estimated at another 120-130 billion.

The negative economic and moral implications of the "delayed demand" are indisputable. Pay becomes less of an incentive and black market dealing increases. Attempts have been made at national as well as at ministerial level to balance incomes and expenditures.

The above goes to show why, in spite of a broadly negative response from the public, the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Communications has continued its preparations to raise the tariffs charged for the use of private telephones. Readers of Literaturnaya Gazeta have protested against the constant rises in the fees charged by the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Railways for storing luggage in its lockers and the creeping growth of prices and tariffs for the other services it offers. So far, the government has not shown any understanding of such signals coming from the public. The moves made by ministries are seen as an understandable attempt to increase the value of indices about which they have to report to the government, and as a measure to remove imbalances in the economy and restrict the growth of the "delayed demand." This is a classic example of trying to mask the symptoms of a disease, rather than treat it.

* * *

A number of external and internal factors have conspired to aggravate the problem of balancing the economy upon which I have dwelt indirectly above. The situation that existed in the past kept the economy in a state of equilibrium, and it was possible to regulate the growth of the "delayed demand" by increasing the manufacturing of consumer goods. It has now changed considerab;y as a result of the dramatic decline in the supply of those goods that contributed most of the funds expended by the government in subsidies. This is particularly true of the supply of liquor and wines and imported consumer goods.

Lenin categorically rejected proposals to build up economic development funds through increased sales of alcohol. At the time there was a strong temptation to go down this slippery path, but the nation never succumbed to it. This happened, however, after the supply of money paid out regardless of performance began to block the circulation of money. The production of vodka went ahead in spite of its negative social consequences to cover up for managerial ineptitude in order to postpone the day when cardinal decisions would have to be made. That day has now come, but the conditions that we see today are a great deal more complicated.

Drawing by Antoni Chodorowski

The decline in oil prices on the world market has considerably reduced the supply of hard currency and diminished our potential for importing consumer goods. Sales of imports on the home market made a significant contribution to food subsidies and consumer goods prices.

That is something that must be discussed now, for the choice of a way of resolving the problem of retail prices is directly dependent on the state of the nation's finances. In order to be able to reform retail prices without adversely affecting the standard of living, we must start by balancing the money, demand and supply.

* * *

What can be done in practical terms to resolve that old problem? The most important thing would appear to be to restore the relationship between pay and performance. In my view it is impossible to resolve the problem by reviewing salary rates alone. These rates have become divorced from actual average wage rates. We must absolutely rule out any situation where figure-juggling can lead to unearned incomes.

The introduction of the responsibility contract throughout the economy will go a long way towards restructuring that sphere, and we must begin with farming. This would resolve two problems. The responsibility contract based on the principle of "earn and divide" ensures the link between pay and performance and at the same time, as our experience suggests, makes it possible dramatically to reduce production costs.

For instance, the Baturinskoye experimental farm in the Kurgan District formed an intensive performance unit of machine operators working on a collective responsibility contract. They were given 1,360 hectares on which they rotated wheat, barley, and annual herbage to different schedules. That is of crrucial importance in working on a responsibility contract, because in this way one operation can be performed after another and the available resources can be evenly distributed.

The unit began to work in 1986 and in spite of a cold spring and rainy autumn they harvested 3,090 tons of grain and 164 tons of herbage per hectare. Every member of the unit produced 753 tons of grain, and the unit earned 97 thousand rubles. The four people who worked in the unit produced as much as did 27 people working on a neighbouring farm and using the same machines. In other words, one member of the unit performed the work of 7 people on the neighbouring farm. A sevenfold increase in productivity is a considerable achievement.

Having introduced the responsibility contract system in farming and dismantled the system of management by decree we may very soon be able to reduce the cost of producing meat to 3-3.5 rubles per kilogram. Sufficiently large funds have been invested in farming over the past 20 years to enable our farms to join the world market trend toward reducing the prices of produce.

* * *

We must also introduce differentiated price ranges for foodstuffs according to their quality. The price of one kilogram of beef should vary from 1 to 8 rubles. A chunk of veal is one thing, a soup bone is different. This would also make sure that no family, whatever its income, went without animal proteins.

The introduction of the responsibility contract will inevitably differentiate producers according to their earnings. The gaps between the incomes of those working on the responsibility contract and pensioners, students, and people on fixed pay must not be above a reasonable limit beyond which society could become stratified. That is why it is necessary to introduce a progressive system of taxation.

The proposed measures must be complemented by a long overdue reform of taxes levied on inherited property. It would be reasonable to single out a minimum part taxed within the present rate of taxation and introduce a rapidly ascending rate for inherited property over and above that minimum. This would contribute to balancing and preserving the amount of accumulated funds and property as well as to improving the moral climate of our society. It is no secret that we now have "socialist rentiers" in this country who live off incomes from property inherited from their parents.

* * *

The problem of reforming prices cannot be considered in isolation from our economy as a whole. There are many aspects to the problem, and we must have several options in dealing with it. It would be reasonable to have two or three plans for reforming prices in advance of a national referendum on the problem.

This would increase the number of experts involved in dealing with that crucial problem. Bringing several variants of a price reform before the national referendum would be in keeping with the extension of democracy in our society.

Sverdlovsk

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Where do the solutions lie?

Gennady Sysoyev

In recent years the balance of Soviet-Yugoslav trade has been upset, with the result that the Soviet Union now has a debt of 1,500 million dollars to Yugoslavia.

In the overall picture of relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, for a long time economic ties looked the best and caused no anxiety. Any mention of them was in glowing terms. There seemed to be every reason for this.

Since 1975 the Soviet Union has held first place in Yugoslavia's foreign trade. And by the middle of this decade Yugoslavia was one of our country's ten biggest trading partners. The volume of trade increased from five-year plan to five-year plan: 1971-75 – 5,900 million dollars, 1976-80, 18,100 million, and 1981-85, – 35,000 million dollars.

Then in 1986 right out of the blue, the blow struck. But was the sky actually so cloudless and the blow so unexpected?

Why the blow struck

The complete harmony in Soviet-Yugoslav trade in recent years was more seeming than real. Despite its impressive volume, it was (and still is) conscpicuously one-sided.

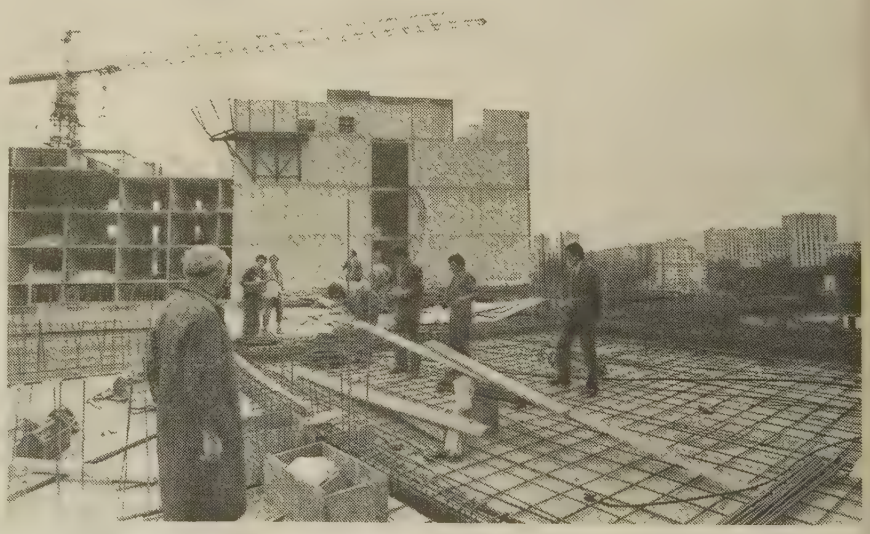
Machines and equipment account for only something like 10 per cent of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia. The rest is made up of raw materials (including 50 per cent energy-carriers, chiefly petroleum products). On the other hand, almost half of Yugoslavia's exports are made up of industrial produce, and another 30 per cent is accounted for by consumer goods. That provides a reflection of the state of our trade and its asymmetry perfectly.

It's true that such asymmetry has not always existed. By the beginning of the seventies a third of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia was made up of manufactured goods. But when in 1973 oil prices rose sharply, our foreign trade began to follow a seemingly paradoxical principle – the poorer, the better.

Let me explain. After oil prices rocketed, sales of oil proved extremely profitable. The price of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia mounted. That seemed to have the effect of a soporific on our exporters: they lost almost no sleep over the extremely difficult problem of how to sell machines and equipment. The structure of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia was seriously weakened. But we gained nothing from this (if, of course, one considers the country's long-term interests).

By the beginning of the eighties the Soviet Union had a trade surplus of about 1,000 million dollars. Spending that money was no problem for our foreign trade organizations. They had instructions from government bodies to buy anything and everything from Yugoslavia: from ships to boot polish. For the demand for Yugoslav goods on the Soviet market, thanks to their quality, was always very high.

Exports and imports in Soviet-Yugoslav trade were balanced, and had perceptibly increased. But if our imports from Yugoslavia increased in volume, our exports owed their growth to the noticeably increased value of petrodollars. In other words, what at first glance looked like a confident growth in the volume of trade did not in reality reflect the full picture of Soviet-Yugoslav economic



The Industrija-gradnja company of Zagreb, Yugoslavia, building a hotel in the Soviet capital

ies. Nobody took seriously the possibility of oil prices collapsing. And then the bolt struck. Oil prices fell.

The value of Soviet exports to Yugoslavia began to slide, and our debt increased, reaching 1,500 million dollars by the middle of this year.

Quests

A debt is always unpleasant. That is the emotional aspect, and in economic relations this is far from being the most important one. What is more important is that a debt (as a result of trade imbalances) prevents the development of trade and economic ties between the two countries. Nor is this to Yugoslavia's advantage, since it encourages inflation (and inflation is probably the problem that is causing the biggest headache in Yugoslavia today).

How can the debt problem be resolved? A question as difficult as it is urgent. The simpliest solution at first glance would be either to reduce imports from Yugoslavia, or increase our exports there.

And the agreement on payments between the two countries allows Yugoslavia to cut back on exports to the Soviet Union until the imbalance has been eliminated. But the point is that in the past couple of decades many branches of the Yugoslav economy were geared to the Soviet market, being assured that their produce would sell. For some enterprises it is the principal market, for others the only one.

The prospects of increasing Soviet exports today are very slim. Competition on the Yugoslav machine and equipment market is fairly strong both from Western firms and local industry. Selling our industrial goods there is far from easy, partly because of their poor quality and resultant lack of competitiveness, but also because of Yugoslavia's own economic difficulties.

The possibiltiies of increasing Soviet oil exports would seem to be limited. And depending on the export of raw materials alone as in the past is not the best way out. It wouldn't solve the problem, but merely patch up a few holes – and as you know, nothing worthwhile can be made of patched material.

Faced with the far from pleasant prospect of a growing debt, our country has been forced to reduce, as of 1987, its imports from Yugoslavia. The trade turnover between the two countries dropped by 20 per cent as compared with the previous year. Such a situation, I would think, is temporary, since it runs counter to the long-term programme for economic cooperation between the two countries up to the year 2000 signed during Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to Yugoslavia. That document envisaged that the high level of economic cooperation already attained would be preserved.

Some time ago the two sides agreed to convert about half the Soviet debt into a medium-term credit with the payment of interest on it. To some extent this made the problem less acute, but it does not fully resolve it.

Over to new forms

Today both Moscow and Belgrade realize that the traditional forms of economic cooperation in which the main principle is the exchange of goods has effectively been exhausted. The only way out is to move over to new forms.

Both countries are now concentrating on this. Yugoslavia's Chamber of the Economy recently handed its Soviet partners a document listing more than 200 suggestions for the further development of bilateral economic ties. This included 100 proposals for production cooperation, 50 projects for joint enterprises on Soviet territory, and 15 for joint capital investments in the Yugoslav economy. The Soviet side also put forward a number of interesting suggestions, specifically, on joint enterprises.

So there is no shortage of proposals or projects. Now it would seem that all that remains to be done is to roll up our sleeves and get down to putting them into practice. But it looks as if that is not going as quickly as both sides would like.

Nevertheless, two Soviet-Yugoslav enterprises are being formed. The first was the firm Enha, set up on the basis of the Belgorod association Neftekhimavtomatika (U.S.S.R.). Its partner is the Sarajevo association Energoinvest, which for many years has been successfully cooperating with Soviet enterprises. The joint firm will produce precision instruments. The second joint undertaking, the factory Sovpolyjuplas, will produce consumer goods made of polymers and other materials. Its output has been set at about 15,000 tons of plastic a year. It will be built jointly by the two countries, with the capital provided by a Soviet bank in the form of an 8-year loan, with repayments to start in two years' time. For the first two years the factory will enjoy tax privileges.

Two joint enterprises naturally do not yet signify a dramatic changeover to new forms. But it is a beginning. The experience of these first two has shown that the Yugoslav side's approach is fundamental. And realistic. It proceeds from the premise that joint enterprises must operate effectively, and not be set up simply because political interests

Moscow's Jadran shop always does brisk trade

Photos by V. Panov

gain the upper hand over economic potential and feasibility.

But certain difficulties have already cropped up in the organization of joint enterprises. Many of them are based on the objective fact that the Soviet and Yugoslav markets do not bear comparison as to volume. So many of the Yugoslav proposals are geared to the setting up of joint enterprises whose output is designed chiefly for the Soviet market. But for the Soviet Union that will mean simply an increase in imports, although in a somewhat veiled form.

Clearly the way out is to look for fields in which about 40 per cent of the output of joint enterprises would be sold on the Yugoslav market, or that of a third country. Given the will, such fields could probably be found.

From questions to answers

The long-term programme listed the main directions production cooperation should take. Today it accounts for a mere 5 per cent of the total volume of economic ties between the two countries. This question, it should be noted, has been the subject of discussions for a long time. Indeed almost every Soviet-Yugoslav document at government level over the past 20 years has noted the need to develop cooperation and specialization. We've grown accustomed to such a state of affairs, just as we have reconciled ourselves to the fact that the gap between a decision on paper and its actual implementation still largely remains. In practice, all that has happened is that attempts have been made to resolve the problem by administrative methods, which, as everyone knows, fail to tie in with economic realities.

It was only in 1986, when it was decided to restructure foreign economic activities, that the necessary legal prerequisites were created to give Soviet enterprises an outlet onto world markets. The economic conditions for this only began to be created at the beginning of this year when our enterprises went over to cost-accounting and self-fianncing. So it is naturally too early to speak of any results in the field of cooperation. Only the very first steps have been made. Since 1971 the Yugoslav factory Crvena Zastava has been supplying AvtoVAZ with components for its cars, and receiving finished cars in return. There is similar cooperation between the factories of the two countries in the production of the KamAZ lorries and walking excavators. But the existing practice of delivering components in exchange for the finished product limits possibilities of cooperation, since once again the question of balanced deliveries crops up. That is what makes the markets of third countries so important.

The expansion of economic ties along the line of direct contacts looks realistic for the immediate future. Something like 50 agreements have already been signed between enterprises in the two countries. This is an extremely promising form of cooperation, since factories reach agreement directly between themselves. Yet only recently the bureaucratic fences of our ministries and departments presented an inseparable barrier to putting many proposals on the part of Yugoslav firms into effect.

The construction of major projects in Yugoslavia by the Soviet Union looks equally promising, for instance, the construction of a gas pipe line or an underground railway in Belgrade. It is planned, for instance, that the underground in the Yugoslav capital will be built with the help of Soviet partners (incidentally, France, Japan and Canada also offered Yugoslavia their services.) Under one of the projects, the Soviet side will carry out all the designing and supply the equipment, while the actual construction work will be done by Yugoslav firms.

The construction of the Yugoslav Underground could begin this year. Both the interest and the desire are there. The stumbling block for the Yugoslav side remains the financing of the project.

Quite a number of problems have accumulated and hang like a hundredweight lock on the Volga store, in Belgrade, which is supposed to sell Soviet goods. A similar store, Morava in Voronezh, has long been selling Yugoslav produce, contributing to the expansion of Soviet-Yugoslav trade. But the Volga store still remains closed to customers. "The main reason," explained Zoran Todorovic, head of the firm Yugoslavija-Komerc's section for trade with the U.S.S.R., "is the limited range of goods offered by the Soviet side. Our Soviet partners offered about 300 items. But it is unthinkable to open the store until there are at least 700-800 items to offer customers."

The switchover to new forms of cooperation is undoubtedly the only effective way of resolving the so far still numerous problems standing in the way of Soviet-Yugoslav economic cooperation. But, realistically, one has to admit that this switchover will take time.

And what can be done today? These questions are hard to answer. And yet... Experience shows that the growth of the Soviet-Yugoslav trade depends on what we can offer for export to Yugoslavia. In practice, however, Soviet ministries are using every possible opportunity to increase imports and couldn't seem to care less about producing export goods in quantities set by the plan.

The refusal of the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs to provide credit for imports until there is enough to export looks like being a half-measure and not a very effective one at that. Because if a contract has been signed, payments for imports will have to be made.

Some Soviet economists believe that the only radical way out is to stop the centralized allocation of hard currency to the ministries. This seems a reasonable proposal. It would mean that enterprises would have the right (and the duty) to earn their hard currency themselves.

Another possible measure in our economic cooperation with Yugoslavia is to abandon the existing clearing-form trade. (What it boils down to is that transactions are conducted on the basis of goods for goods, they are supposed to be balanced in tems of value; in the event of a debt being run up, it is paid off by deliveries of extra goods.) If transactions are paid for in currency the difference between imports and exports has to be paid for in cash.

* * *

And so problems, problems, problems... But without stating them, it is clearly impossible to start finding the answers to them, and still less to achieve concrete results. And we have to do this so that, in the overall mechanism of Soviet-Yugoslav cooperation, economic ties operate as a stimulus to development, not a brake on it. ■

The 20th Party Congress

Roy Medvedev

When the 20th Party Congress opened in the Kremlin on February 14, 1956, few people had any idea of how significant an event it was to be. As compared with the 19th Congress, the composition of the delegations had been altered appreciably as a result of material changes in the Party and government leadership at every level.

No special ceremony was held to pay tribute to "the great father and teacher" (Stalin). At the suggestion of Khrushchev, who opened the congress, delegates stood in honour of the memory of three "prominent leaders of the communist movement," Stalin, Gottwald and Tokuda. Neither the report nor the delegates' speeches contained any praise of Stalin.

In its report the Party leadership noted a good many changes that had taken place since Stalin's death in town and country, in the domestic and foreign policies of the Party and the cultural and moral climate. Nevertheless, a great deal still had to be concealed. Millions of political prisoners continued to languish in the numerous "labour" camps up and down the country.

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Millions of others had died of back-breaking toil, hunger and cold, as a result of hideous torture, or in mass executions. They had been hastily buried in countless unmarked common graves and had not yet been rehabilitated. Mikoyan alone mentioned several innocent victims of the Stalin terror still regarded as "enemies of the people." But even this brief reference caused great agitation among the delegates.

The tenor of the congress changed only on the final day – February 25 – when Khrushchev once again mounted the rostrum to deliver his famous "secret speech" on the personality cult and its consequences. Judging from documents published later, the report was heard by the delegates in a closed sitting on the morning of February 25, and at the open sitting after a break they approved the directives for the sixth five-year plan and learned of the results of elections to the Party's leading bodies held at the closed session in the evening of February 24.

How did the important document in the world communist movement see the light of day?

The only man to do it

It is known that reports were drawn up for Khrushchev by the Central Committee staff, or he dictated the text to a shorthand typist and then asked his assistants to edit it.

But on the rostrum Khrushchev often deviated from the prepared text, and these impromptu additions made up the most interesting parts of his speeches. A seasoned speaker, he had no difficulty in delivering a long speech without preparation, as he frequently did during his travels abroad. **Khrushchev's "secret speech" was a combination of all these elements.** He had at his disposal the findings of the Pospelov and other commissions. Not infrequently, he talked with rehabilitated Party members, especially those he had known before their arrest. And his own memories confirmed much of what he had been afraid to think earlier.

In his report Khrushchev actually combined all those pieces of information he had gained from various sources. The report was later criticized for not being sufficiently detailed or complete and for its lack of theoretical analysis.It was also said that a great many facts had been held back in it. But in the prevailing circumstances it was impossible to do ore, and no one except Khrushchev would have dared take such a step. In the Party leadership he proved to be the only man capable of confronting the congress with the question of condemning Stalin's mistakes and crimes.

There was no debate on Khrushchev's speech. In its resolution, published only several months later, the congress approved Khrushchev's report and urged the Central Committee "steadily to carry out measures ensuring the complete abolition of the personality cult as a phenomenon alien to Marxism-Leninism and the elimination of its consequences

Khrushchev resolved to tell the truth about Stalin's crimes when the name of the "great leader" was still inscribed on the mausoleum under that of Lenin.

in all fields of Party, government and ideological work."

In the evening of February 25, when the edited text of Khrushchev's report was ready, the Communist Party delegations present at the congress were invited to the Kremlin. They were acquainted with the report and warned that its contents should not be made public. All copies of the report were to be returned to the office of the Central Committee.

But the report could not be kept secret. The next day the world non-communist media commented not only on the closed sitting of the congress, but also on the main features of the report. Several weeks later the U.S. State Department circulated the English text of what was supposed to be Khrushchev's report.

Motives for taking the risk

It should be noted that the risks Khrushchev ran in delivering the secret speech were no less serious than those he took in connection with the arrest of Beria. It was necessary to act promptly and vigorously, relying only on the people he most trusted.

They were worried that the revelations about Stalin could boomerang. Yet though the risk was great, it was justified. In the long run, the positive results far exceeded the temporary difficulties. Khrushchev decided to take certain chances, and we can only be grateful to him that he did.

The world press speculated about Khrushchev's motives in preparing his report. This is a difficult question. There were many reasons for Khrushchev's decision and perhaps he himself was not fully aware of all of them.

Khrushchev did not denounce all the illegal repressions of the Stalin period, but only those perpetrated against Party workers. The question of rehabilitating members of the opposition was not even raised. In other words, Khrushchev sought to allay the fears of the upper bureaucratic echelons by consolidating their position in the Party. In the 1940s many people had feared promotion to high government and Party posts. It was considered too dangerous.

Of course, no one was insured against terror in the Stalin period. It is known, however, that the upper echelons of the Party and government apparatus were subjected in those years to particularly drastic purges. As Napoleon's marshals had tired of wars and danger and longed for quiet lives in their palaces, so the ministers, marshals and secretaries of regional Party committees who owed their rise to Stalin tired of his morbid suspicion, and their own constant fear and nocturnal vigils in their offices.

Many of these "soldiers of Stalin" had wearied the constant need to resort to violence in their regions and departments in order to fulfil excessive plans or instructions to conduct new ideological campaigns. These sentiments certainly helped Khrushchev win the support of most Party officials. But it should be remembered that the top bureaucracy, though interested in doing away with the excesses of the Stalin regime, did not want complete glasnost, which could undermine its prestige. Most of the highly-placed officials had been directly or indirectly involved in the repressions of the Stalin period, and for this reason many of them thought Khrushchev's report too dangerous and risky,

Many saw Khrushchev's speech at the congress as a decisive episode in the struggle for power in the Party. By taking the initiative, he had dealt a blow at such close associates of Stalin as Molotov, Kaganovich, Malenkov and Voroshilov, whose presence in the Party leadership was an obstacle to him. Khrushchev's speech had cut the ground from under the feet of former "leaders," preparing for their eventual removal from power. There is certainly a grain of truth in this view as well.

There was much in Khrushchev's behaviour that could be attributed to his personal qualities. Not far from the truth may have been those who said that the "miracle" of the abolition of the "labour" camps and the release of millions of prisoners was also the result of impetuosity on the part of Khrushchev, who had not lost the capacity for repentance and kind deeds. Khrushchev was, certainly, concerned about the hard conditions of working people, especially peasants. He was also concerned about the dire plights of millions of innocent people thrown into camps or prisons.

My own view is that many of Khrushchev's actions in 1955 and 1956 can be explained to some extent by the qualities of a full-time Party worker typical of the middle and upper echelons of the Party leadership in the 1920s. Khrushchev was able to preserve these qualities, at least partially, all his life.

These people had quite a few shortcomings, but they were distinguished by simplicity and readiness for sacrifice and risk, by discipline, staunchness and devotion to the ideals of the revolution. In the mid-1930s, people of this kind constituted the majority on the Central Committee and the bulk of leaders on the regional and city committees of the Party and the Young Communist League.

Most of these Party workers, still loyal to Stalin, were murdered in 1937 and 1938. Khrushchev survived by accepting many of the rules of conduct imposed by Stalin. But he did not become a real Stalinist. At heart, he never believed that his friends and former leaders were

uilty, and did not reconcile himself to heir deaths, even if this opened up the ossibility of more rapid promotion for imself.

On becoming First Secretary of the arty, Khrushchev did not concern himelf exclusively with economic matters ut also with restoring the good name of ong-standing associates. Thanks to his fforts, the family of Semyon Korytny, his iend in the Moscow Party organization, s well as the families of Stanislav Kosior, lexander Kosarev and others, soon reurned from exile. Much of what they told hrushchev was a revelation to him. The nger, bitterness and indignation roused in him were also important moves for delivering the secret speech, redit for which was entirely his own: it as the greatest feat of his life, far outeighing all his previous and subsequent istakes. Khrushchev won and will preerve his place in history thanks chiefly to e 20th Party Congress.

didn't know much

There are days and events that veryone remembers all his life and after hich he can no longer live as he lived beore. There have not been many such vents in my life. The first and most emorable of them was the arrest of my ather in mid-August, 1938. The day hen I heard Khrushchev's "secret peech" at the 20th Party Congress bout Stalin's crimes and personality cult as also memorable for me.

It was late in March 1956, a month after he congress. A special notice was delivered to the small village school where I was headmaster and teacher of history. ll the teachers at our school were required to gather at 16.00 of the next day n the club room of a neighbouring brickyard. We did not know the agenda of the nexpected meeting. Nor could we uess what it was about. Not only eachers but also engineers and some workers from the brickyard and the earby railway station had assembled in he club room, as Party education rooms t factories were called at the time.

The meeting was opened by an instructor from the district Party committee, who said he would read out the full ext of Khrushchev's "secret speech" to he 20th Party Congress. The instructor varned us that he would not reply to any questions, that we should not take notes, nd that no debate on the report would e held. After that he laid before him a mall booklet in a red cover and began to ead out the text. The reading lasted four ours. All of us listened to the report attentively, silently, almost with horror. When the last page had been read a hush asting several minutes fell over the room, nd then the audience began to break up in silence, exchanging not so much opinions as interjections.

Perhaps I was more disturbed than others and thought for many days about the revelations I had heard in the club room. True, I knew much more than many other people of my generation about the tragedies and crimes of the 1930s and 1940s. My father – a veteran of the civil war, a brigadier commissar, and a professor at the Red Army Military Political Academy – had been arrested and, after three years of hard labour in the gold mines, he died and was buried in a common grave not far from Magadan. The parents of many of my friends had also been arrested.

I knew about the torture to which prisoners were subjected during investigations, and the intolerable conditions in the "labour" camps. In 1940 my father had managed to smuggle out a long letter to my mother. He wrote about the torture by which interrogators tried to break prisoners' wills and gave the name of his own sadistic interrogator. My father did not sign the false evidence, but other prisoners did so in order to stop the torment. He asked my mother to forward the letter to Stalin, Molotov, and Beria, who had recently been appointed People's Commissar for Internal Affairs instead of Yezhov, who was demoted and disappeared. My mother carried out my father's wish, but it had no effect.

When I was studying at Leningrad University, one more wave of arrests swept Leningrad. Not only many lecturers but also students became victims of the repressions. At the same time an absurd and virulent political campaign was launched in the university against "cosmopolitans." Even the students understood that the campaign was directed against Jews working in the fields of education, science and culture. At our department of philosophy, some of the best lecturers were dismissed.

As I have already said, Khrushchev's report did not give a profound analysis of the causes and effects of Stalin's crimes. Those who read or listened to the report did not find in it any more or less reasonable explanations of our recent history. Therefore, many of us felt not only anger and indignation at Stalin's crimes, but also obvious dissatisfaction with Khrushchev's report. A lot of questions arose, but there was no one whom we could ask, and we received no answers to them.

The secret report contained many serious and just charges against Stalin. But there was a feeling that Khrushchev was holding back something very important, and this increased the general painful impression. The exposure of crimes and the triumph of justice often fill people with enthusiasm. I did not have enthusiasm, though I certainly experienced a feeling of hope and relief.

Having raised many questions and doubts, Khrushchev's report aroused the desire to make an independent study of the history of our country and the causes of the tragedy. In 1956 I made up my mind to write a book on the history of Stalinism and began to note down my thoughts and considerations on this problem. The old dogmas associated with the Party's history, which we had studied at university as our bible, crumbled, and possibilities of independent analysis and reflection began to appear.

Attempts to revive Stalin

In February 1956 my father was posthumously rehabilitated and reinstated in the Party ranks. After the 20th Congress my former faith in Stalin was shattered completely while my sympathies towards Khrushcev as the new leader increased, as did my confidence in the Party. In the Leningrad region I was probably the only headmaster who was not a Party member. Earlier, even during the war, I had repeatedly been offered to apply for Party membership, because I had evidently worked well in the Young Communist League. The rehabilitation of my father and the 20th Congress smashed the last remaining obstacles in the way of such a step. In April 1956 I applied to join and several weeks later I was admitted as a candidate member.

I do not remember that day very well. But I still remember all the details of the August day in 1969, when at a district Party committee meeting I, then an associate at the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, was expelled from the Party. The chief reason for the gravest penalty the Party can impose was the book on Stalin and Stalinism that I wrote between 1962 and 1969, the manuscript of which lay on a separate table in the room where the district Party committee was in session. It was a typewritten copy then known only to a few of my friends. In my brief speech at the meeting I spoke of the decisions of the 20th Congress, the Party's line and the line mapped out by the 20th and 22nd Party Congresses.

"The Party now has a different line on the question of Stalin," the secretary of the district Party committee replied to me, and demanded that I put my Party card on the table.

For more than 20 years after Khrushchev's resignation active attempts to exonerate Stalin and completely annul the decisions of the 20th and 22nd congresses were undertaken by very influential forces in our country. Sometimes their success seemed almost inevitable, but eventually the Stalinists had to retreat. I do not think that this struggle will end in the near future. There are more than enough people around who want to see the "great leader" exonerated.They are trying to whitewash him by every devious method at their disposal. But it is already impossible to whitewash Stalin, or erase the memory of his crimes. In this lies the historic significance of the 20th Party Congress.

■

"People should come to see

Japanese women's reminiscences of the second world war have made up 12 volumes. The women's peace committee of the Buddhist organization Soka Gakkai has collected evidence about the suffering of people in the interior of the country. Here is one of the stories.

Mayumi Yoshida

I have written this for the sake of my older sister, Yuriko, who has suffered a fate more cruel than death. I have written in the hope that no other children like Yuriko are born in to this world.

Yuriko is one of twenty-two cases of severe microcephaly caused in fetuses whose mothers were exposed at close range to radiation from the atomic bomb. She limps because both pelvic joints are dislocated. She has a speech disorder. Her body is the size of a middle-school pupil, though she is thirty-six. Her mental abilities are arrested at the level of a two-year-old. She is a baby when it comes to taking care of herself. She is incapable of taking a bath, going to the toilet, or doing anything else unassisted.

Yuriko smiles when she is happy and pouts when she is displeased.

Television movies are her greatest joy, and she is never without motion-picture photographs from the newspaper or some magazine. Of course, she cannot read, but she finds pleasure in looking at the pictures. I suppose she thinks of nothing else.

After watching her glued to the television and pouring over movie magazines for more than twenty years, I have grown accustomed to her. Still, lately, I am sometimes overwhelmed with grief and pity for her and feel a sudden impulse to hold her in my arms.

Why has she been condemned to such a condition? Life is given equally to all. Who was it that twisted and deformed my sister's life this way?

On the day of the bombing, Mother was happily anticipating Yuriko's birth. But, then, in a flash of fiendish light, the bomb invaded even the sanctity of the womb and led a mother, an unborn daugher, a whole family down a long path of suffering.

Some houses were being dismantled at Nishi Daiku-maichi, 730 metres from the hypocentre, on the morning of August 6, 1945. Mother, who was taking part in the work, had her baby boy, Masaaki, strapped to her back. Since she had a child to look after, she was given the light job of preparing lunches for the others. Just after she stepped under the eaves of the hut where the lunches were to be prepared, she was temporarily blinded by a sudden flash of light. When she had recovered the use of her eyes, she was amazed to find that both the buildings and the fifty workers who had been there just seconds earlier had vanished. Mother saw an immense fire heading in her direction. She joined a frantic group of people fleeing toward the mountains. Before long a drizzle of black rain began falling. Mother dashed for cover in a toolshed that had survived in the middle of a field.

Mother took Masaaki down from her back, only to find that virtually countless slivers of glass were buried in his bloody head. The poor child huddled against her back, too frightened even to cry. Gingerly she picked out as many pieces of glass as she could, but some were too small.

Mother fell ill a week later. She was nauseous and suffered from diarrhea and bloody fluxes. When her mother tried combing her hair, it came out in handfuls. Masaaki had diarrhea and was placed in bed beside Mother.

No one knew of atomic-radiation sickness at the time, and the local doctor treated Mother and Masaaki for stomach trouble. On August 29 Masaaki died, but his name is not listed among the atomic-bomb victims since the cause of death was reported as gastric obstruction.

The doctor thought Mother would also die. But a neighbour said that she should drink a beverage made of boiled persimmon leaves. Mother did this every day until there were finally no more leaves on the tree. Whatever the reason, Mother gradually got better. The child growing in her womb was some consolation for Masaaki's death.

It was five or six years before her death that Mother began complaining of pains in her back and increased the number of *shiatsu* massages she was receiving. This was the beginning of her struggle with the monster known as atomic-radiation sickness.

The gravity of Mother's sickness came as a shock to all of us.

The director of the hospital recommended that Mother have a thorough physical examination at a national hospital. But Mother decided against it, because she was worried about what would happen to Yuriko without her.

Walking became increasingly difficult. In October 1978 more X-rays showed that cancer had attacked her thigh bones, ankles, and scull.

When Father told me that Mother had cancer, I felt as if something had come crashing down inside me. Of course, we did not let Mother know.

One day, when Yuriko was sitting next to her watching television, Mother stretched out her thin arm and took her by the hand. Laying it on her side, she said, "Yuriko, it hurts here. Rub my side for a little while, won't you?" There were tears in her eyes.

"Is it very bad, Mother –" I started to speak to her but stopped midway, realizing that the tears were caused not by physical pain but by love and worry for a child that would be left behind.

When the faded December page of the calendar on the wall had been turned, Mother looked at herself in a hand mirror and said, "My face's swollen." Swelling of the face or hands and feet of patients who have been hospitalized for a long time means that there is no longer any hope. I nevertheless tried to sooth her: "That's because you slept face down." "No," she said again. "My face's swollen. Nothing can be done now."

Father tried to evade the issue. He and Mother had walked hand in hand throughout the misery and suffering that began on the day Yuriko was branded as microcephalic.

Mother and Father had to start all over again after becoming virtually penniless owing to the atomic bombing of 1945. Despite repeated business failures they did not give up. Nor was Yuriko a heavy cross for them to bear. On the contrary, I think she gave them a kind of psychological support.

They had been overjoyed when she was born on February 4, 1946, apparently

my sister"

perfectly healthy baby. At the time there ere no signs of anything wrong with her gs and certainly no indication of radia- on-caused microcephaly.

Yuriko's first and second birthdays assed. My parents' third daughter was orn, and still Yuriko neither spoke nor alked. My parents went on with their usy lives, unable to give Yuriko any spe- ial protection or care. But when her ounger sister was already prattling and oddling about, Yuriko still showed no

Reproduced from the album "Hiroshima" (Japan) compiled by survivors of the atomic bombing

igns of development. It was then that my arents began to be concerned.

With the passage of time, Yuriko was ble first to crawl and then, with coach- ng, to stand up, but was unsteady in the ips. When Yuriko was four, Mother and ather finally realized there was some- ning seriously wrong with her legs and ips, but since she showed no sign of ain, they didn't have her examined.

Finally, they took her to the national ospital in Otake, where a doctor told hem not to worry: "It happens in infancy. With age the limping disappears."

Later, however, doctors from the School of Medicine of Hiroshima Univer- ity came to Otake to examine atomic- adiation victims and told Mother and ather that Yuriko had microcephaly. But his meant so little to them that they hrugged it off. Perhaps at another time, when it was explained to them in detail, hey understood; but in those days few eople knew anything about the effects f radiation. Mother and Father probably uspected that Yuriko's sickness was onnected with the atomic bombing, but ad no idea that it was incurable. They went on hoping that some day she would speak and walk normally.

It is scarcely surprising that people who didn't experience the bomb have no inkling of the horror of radiation diseases. That is no reason, however, for saying that nothing can be done.

All of us were compelled to struggle against the discrimination and curiosity the world has for people like my sister.

For instance, once when Yuriko was playing in Father's (barber) shop, a woman came in and tried to shoo Yuriko away as if she were a dog. On another occasion, Yuriko was standing in front of the shop when several primary-school children came along and mockingly imitated her limp. Not realizing that she was being made fun of, Yuriko smiled.

Worried about what would happen to Yuriko after their deaths, Mother and Father once sent a letter to the United States government by way of the American commander of the Iwakuni Air Force Installation, hoping to make arrangements to ensure Yuriko's livelihood. The Japanese government had passed a nominal law related to medical treatment for atom-bomb victims but showed no inclination to do anything to aid them financially. This is why Mother and Father decided to apply to the nation responsible for the bombing. Their request was shelved without action.

After this, Mother and Father participated in various movements in connection with atom-bomb victims. They were the first to bring into the open the situation of microcephalous victims. Until then, many people with such afflicted children had hidden them from the public eye.

As a consequence of these efforts, the Ministry of Welfare officially included among those illnesses qualified for therapy a group of people who had been embryos in an early state of development when their mothers were exposed to atomic radiation at close range. In June 1968 Yuriko was at last officially recognized as an atomic-bomb victim.

In the hope that it would help the drive to outlaw nuclear weapons, each August 6 Mother and Father took Yuriko to the site of bombing and passed out leaflets to passersby. I helped them on several occasions. Some of the people to whom I handed the leaflets looked annoyed and immediately threw the leaflets away. Others politely thanked me. Looking at the leaflets that had been tossed aside, I felt a painful urge to pick them up and brush the dirt off.

In the middle of December, Mother had grown weaker and said she could no longer see out of her left eye.

About three days before her death, the attacks of excruciating pain suddenly abated, and she grew so tranquil that we were unable to tell the exact time of her death. She passed away on December 26, 1978, at the age of fifty-eight.

Before the end she frequently said that she had gone on living this long because of Yuriko. But at last her determination and strength were exhausted. I shall never forget watching Yuriko, who did not understand what death meant, sitting beside Mother and murmuring, "Momma sleep, Momma sleep."

On January 4 of the next year, Father received a letter saying that, though Yuriko had been recognized as an atom-bomb victim, Mother was not: she had not been sufficiently examined. The letter was dated December 25, 1978, the day before her death. What with caring for Yuriko, Mother just didn't have time to take all the necessary tests until her hospitalization. This letter symbolizes the heartlessness of government policy in dealing with atom-bomb victims.

Now, sitting alone with Father, Yuriko points to Mother's photograph and says over and over again, "Momma dead, Momma dead." Like a clock stopped for ever at 8:15, the moment the bomb fell, Yuriko, whose mind will never mature, is a living symbol of the atomic explosion. She and all others like her show how the misery of that abysmal moment persists into the future. All the millions of words spoken and written in the name of peace are necessary, but people should come to see my sister and hear her murmur, "Momma dead, Momma dead." ■

Souls must be disarmed

"The Archbishop has said so..." These words carry weight in Cyprus. Archbishop Chrysostomos, 64th head of the Orthodox church of Cyprus, whose congregation numbers almost half a million, is regarded as a sage. His authority rests on that of his predecessors: Saint Barnabas, the apostle, a disciple of Christ, Kyprianos, who died a martyr's death for his struggle against the Ottoman Turks, Archbishop Makarios, the founder of Cypriot independence.

Although the church in principle does not interfere in politics, not a single head of state of the Republic of Cyprus misses a chance to visit the Archbishop's palace. To know the opinion of its occupant means to know the opinion of many voters whose political sympathies and very notions of the world are often determined by the stand of the orthodox clergy. Incidentally, the friendliness of Greek Cypriots to our country developed largely under the influence of the Church. The first contacts dating from the 11th century were established by pilgrims, Russian monks. One of them wrote a classic description of the Orthodox monasteries of Cyprus in the 17th century. And nowadays, representatives of the Moscow Patriarchate fly via Cyprus to reach the Holy Land.

This interviewer spoke with his Beatitude (as the Archbishop is addressed) in a lounge of the Sovetskaya hotel in Moscow. When we asked for the lights to be switched on, a maid started looking for the people responsible for lighting. It turned out that there were many people in charge, but we still remained in semi-darkness. "No perestroka here?" the Archbishop asked angrily in Russian.

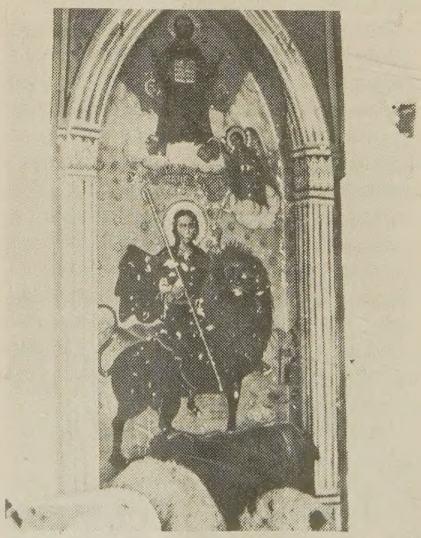
"What have you noticed here that is new?" I asked the Archbishop.

> "The spirit of freedom reigning in society. It is felt in the new attitude of the State to the Church. I became convinced of this at the celebrations of the Millennium of Christianity in Russia. Russians, believers and atheists alike, were able to drink at the fount of their culture and statehood."

The Archbishop is of the opinion that free communication with the past is an earnest of a peoples' moral health and that religion is one way of appreciating the significance of traditions.

> "Faith in Christ is a link between a man and humanity. I am not disturbed by the fact that people nowadays give much thought to mundane things. There has been more than one period in the history of civilization when the pursuit of gain and pleasure was the prevailing attitude. But the cult of the flesh has invariably proved shortlived. Man is not the sum of his animal instincts. His soul aspires to noble things. I see my duty as a pastor in ensuring that this aspiration is not thwarted."

But the Church in Cyprus cannot concentrate on the problems of the soul alone. The island is the seat of a long-drawn-out religious conflict. The occupation of the north of Cyprus has called in question the existence of Cyprus as an integral state. This interviewer has been told more than once that religious differences between Orthodox Greeks and Muslim Turks have played a part in fomenting the strife between the two communities in Cyprus. The Archbishop does not go along with this view.



A herd in an Orthodox church – a sign of the occupation.

> "Religious differences have not so far posed a problem for the good-neighbourly existence of the Greek and Turkish communities. I repeat – so far – as I do not venture to make predictions for the future. Islamic fundamentalism is being implanted in the occupied territory. The basis of the mentality characteristic of both Greek and Turkish Cypriots – tolerance to the religious creeds of others – is being undermined. I am certain that we would be able to meet with Muslim Cypriot leaders even now, if these contacts were not obstructed by the administration of the self-styled Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus."

I asked his Beatitude how things stood with Orthodox holy places in the occupied territory. They include masterpieces of medieval architecture, repositories of unique icons and books.

> "Some churches and monasteries are being carefuly preserved as the authorities are afraid of being accused of vandalism by the world public. But those church buildings that are not shown to foreign tourists have been destroyed and sacked, and are now used as warehouses and shops. Stolen icons turn up in Australia, in Japan. Cyprus spends considerable sums buying back the lost treasures."

The Soviet-American arrangements reached in Moscow inspired the Archbishop with hope.

> "The fewer arms, the less tension there is in the world – the greater the chances are of a settlement to the problem of Cyprus. But the disarmament of states is not enough for lasting peace. Souls must be disarmed. They should be purged of animosity and hatred of one's neighbour. I view Christianity as the love of God, and the love of man who is made in the image of God. When the living, creative spirit of love prevails, the earth will blossom..."

Vladimir Kulistikov

Photos by V. Galin and the magazine Cyprus Today

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